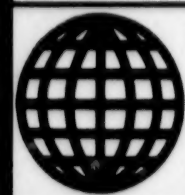


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**English Summaries of Major Articles, NARODY
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18070167a Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in
English No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 216-221

[Text] ORIENTAL STUDIES UNDER PERE-
STROYKA

G.F. KIM

The article is a revised version of the address delivered by the author, a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, President of the All-Union Association of Orientalists, deputy director of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences, to the Third All-Union Conference of Orientalists in Dushanbe (May 1988). In the author's opinion, Oriental studies, as an integrated science, contribute to the development of interdisciplinary research. Difficulties as well as prospects of the Oriental studies are connected with the dual task—the maintaining of a universal approach to social processes in analyzed countries, on the one hand, and a stronger coordination with a number of disciplines such as the universal history, the history of literature, the linguistics, the politology etc., on the other hand. The Oriental studies as an integral part of the Soviet social science are to emphasize studies of nowadays fundamental problems closely associated with the tasks of the essential perestroika of all aspects of our life, of the international relations. At the same time, it would be impossible to understand and interpret laws of the modern development of the East without essential studies of the historical past, deep layers of the history of popular traditions, a fusion of history and contemporary processes. The article examines achievements of Orientalists in different disciplines for the latest years as well as existing shortcomings. It emphasizes a particular importance of organizing creative scientific discussions, notes the necessity of a radical reorganization of the system of education of Orientalists.

**CERTAIN THEORETIC PROBLEMS OF INTERAC-
TION OF CULTURES AND CIVILIZATIONS**

A.T. TURUNOV

In the author's opinion, the process of inter-cultural contacts and interaction has a multi-level structure integrally included in the context of intellectual and ideological climate of an epoch, a region or specific countries. A.T. Tursunov defines three levels of inter-cultural contacts: 1) a level of direct adoptions, often spontaneous and mechanical, which do not modify existing norms or cultural values being under formation; 2) a level of creative adaptation when selected adopted elements are adapted to the basic principles of the assimilating culture and, acquiring in the course of this adaptation new qualities and functions, come to a new qualitative level; 3) a level of self-identification and self-criticism. This type of inter-cultural contacts, being the highest but the least noticeable form of succession, is realized at a

meeting of cultures related, as a rule, to a same phasic typology or having long-lasting traditions with settled systems of values.

A meeting of cultures is not merely a mutual enrichment, a direct exchange of spiritual values; this is also a countervailing and mutual studies. This is not a mechanical adoption, an addition to the existing structures, but the development of these structures from a new standpoint, the creation of native original elements under the influence, by association, of foreign, unacceptable, culture or a revival of native, but forgotten elements seen in the mirror of a foreign culture, in a new way, in the light of spiritual experience of other peoples.

**INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY IN
THE KOREAN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUB-
LIC: SUMMING-UP AND PROSPECTS**

G.D. TOLORAYA

The article analyzes certain aspects of the concept of growth of productive forces of the KPDR, connected with the problem of an integrated development of economy. The author considers conditions and factors which influenced the formation of the national concept of creating a material and technical base of socialism and makes the conclusion that a particular feature of this concept is the creation of a diversified, self-sufficient national economic complex. The diversification of industrial branches in the KPDR was based on an exhaustive mobilization of material and labour resources, a centralized direction, a limited consumption, as well as the economic assistance of socialist countries. Retracing the structural changes the author notes a quick growth of the heavy industry, oriented at the domestic market, the disbalance of this growth. He describes the system of economic management, leaning upon administrative and political leverage to mobilize as much as possible the labour potential.

The modern state of the economy of the KPDR, its main branches: energetics and raw materials, metallurgy, chemistry, engineering industry, building are also reviewed. The article scrutinizes problems of the development of the light industry and the agrarian food-stuffs production.

Considering prospects of the country's economy the author highlights three essential tendencies: a particular development of export-oriented branches and the involvement in the international division of labour; changes in the economic mechanism, aimed at an increased self-dependence of producers and a better orientation of production of social tasks; the technical modernization on the basis of the scientific and technological achievements.

**EVOLUTION OF SIKH COMMUNALISM: RELI-
GIOUS AND POLITICAL ASPECTS**

A.G. BELSKY, D.E. FURMAN

The aim of this article is to analyze the reason of growing Sikh nationalism. There was no religious struggle between Sikhism and Hinduism in the traditional Indian society, and religious conflicts in general were not typical of it. This can be explained by particular features of the ideological content of Hinduism and its organizational structures.

The origin of the Sikh-Hindu conflict dates from the end of the 19th century when a progressive weakening of caste barriers leads to a growing role of the religious identification. Movements for the religious reform aimed at the creation of a relatively uniform Hinduism, emerge among Hindus, and the all-Hindu self-consciousness becomes stronger. Now the relative minority of Sikhs fears Sikhism is being absorbed by Hinduism, and Sikhs aspire to separate themselves from Hinduism, to become consolidated as a particular religion and community. Since that time the tactics of Sikh communalists consist in the struggle for creation of various institutional barriers between Sikhs and Hindus, delaying the processes of absorption of Sikhism and rallying Sikhs more closely. Before the independence of this is the struggle for a formal institution of the Sikh "Church" and a particular Sikh electorate. In the independent India this is the struggle for a punjabi-speaking state. At the same time, with the growth of secularization processes, being a danger for the cohesion and the separate existence of Sikhism, the trend to the creation of institutional barriers increases and the most extremist Sikh elements come to the idea of their own Sikh state Khalistan. Thus, the authors make the conclusion that the growth of Sikh communalism and syncretism is as though an indirect result of processes of democratization and secularization in the Indian society.

CHINESE OF MALAYSIA: ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHARACTERISTICS

S.N. DENISOV

For a space of several centuries ethnic Chinese groups isolated from China have been living in countries of the Southeast Asia among other groups of population. Peculiar socio-economic and ethno-cultural features of these groups are of a great interest for researchers. Their study contributes to our better knowledge of problems of political, economic, social and cultural development of the given region.

Three main ethnic communities co-exist in Malaysia: the Malaysians, the Chinese, the Indians, with new limits between them, a division of fields of economic activities and a social differentiations. The Chinese, who are in the second position by number (about 1/3 of the Malaysian population), surpass other groups of population in social, economic and other indices. However, the Chinese don't have political privileges which are concentrated in the hands of the Malaysians. Such a situation is a serious

factor for maintaining contradictions between the two essential national communities. The fact that the growing economic power of the Chinese bourgeoisie during the last decade has not led to a strengthening of political positions of this community provokes the discontent of the Chinese.

As a result of the governmental policy aimed at conserving the leading role of the Malayan elite in the Malaysian society, the Chinese community does not take an active part in the political life of the country. A high level of politicization of the Chinese community, the existence of several communalist political parties in the composition do not ensure, however, a vast involvement of the Chinese in the state mechanism. They are still weakly represented in the government and the parliament. The social and economic influence of the Chinese community on the whole life of the country is very important what does not correspond to its small political weight. This contradiction determines the position of this community in the modern Malaysian society.

The author bases his conclusions on a significant number of new documents, in particular latest Malaysian publications.

INTERNATIONAL AID TO AFRICA

V.K. VIGAND

The debt crisis in Africa brought to light a new phenomenon: loans from international organizations turned out to be unbearable for many African states. How could it happen that the international assistance might be associated with a burden? The answer is rather simple. State loans may be postponed or even cancelled, a state may as well prove it is unable to cover as scheduled its debts to commercial banks, but never to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or the World Bank. These creditors must be paid in full and on time, because they occupy a privileged position on the financial market and their loans are to have priority. Thus, the payments to the above mentioned two international organizations become the main burden for many African states.

It was quite normal that newly independent countries considered the aid from international organizations as a logical counterbalance versus the domination of their former metropolies. Naturally the international aid through these organizations should be a source of an accelerated development for the Third World. But the reality turned out to be quite different, and the author shows the dimensions of the present multinational indebtedness and the necessity for Africans to borrow wherever they can in order to pay as scheduled to the IMF and the World Bank.

In addition to unfavorable conditions of borrowing, African states are in many instances unable to use the multinational loans in such a way to have sufficient profit to repay the loan itself and the interest. These

economic burdens are aggravated by a political pressure which the World Bank imposes on all African states when they apply for international assistance. It is a well-known fact that the new "conditionality" which is imposed on many Sub-Saharan African countries, makes them introduce unpopular reforms which curtail their social programmes and oblige them to forego their national development plans.

But the trouble does not stop here. Latest events showed that the whole system of "aid" to African states collapsed because since 1984 they started to pay back (in capital installments and interest) more than they received as new loans. In 1985 the gap rose up to 3.3 billion dollars and it could be covered only from previously accumulated reserves.

In order to restore the influx of resources to Africa the World Bank organized rescheduling of state loans to the majority of Sub-Saharan countries, contributed to diminish payments to commercial banks and mobilized new funds on multinational basis. These measures helped to restore since 1987 a net inflow of aid to Africa.

The author gives his opinion about a unique role played now by the World Bank in Africa and comes to conclusion that Africa had to accept the World Bank's conditionality as an inevitable compromise, but it is still unclear what are African prospects with its strategy of self-reliance.

ISLAM IN ETHIOPIA

(HISTORY AND CONTEMPORARY PERIOD)

E.S. SHERR

The 46-million population of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia is represented by roughly 100 ethnic groups and subgroups professing various religions but chiefly the Christianity and the Islam. Many of those ethnoses live in all the countries of the Horn of Africa and even beyond its limits. This latter circumstance, in the author's opinion, is often used by anti-government forces inside and outside the country to foster separatism, intra-ethnic, religious, frontier and territorial conflicts. A specific role among religious and nationalist forces is played by Muslims.

Certain aspects of Islamic expansion in Ethiopia considered in a number of works by Soviet and foreign researchers are reviewed in the article.

If the Christianity began its spread over the Ethiopian territory in the 4th century AD, then the Islam—approximately since the 10th century AD. There were periods in the history of the country when minor state formations were being established on its territory. Christians and Muslims often made feuds with each other: the former subjected Muslims to ostracism, the latter initiated *jihad* against Christians. However, there were also periods of

peaceful co-existence between both confessions. The enmity and wars led to an annihilation of masses of people, a desertification of lands, an eradication of rich cultural heritage.

With the advent of colonial conquests on the territory of the Horn of Africa the threat to the independence, the integrity of the Ethiopian Empire and to the national dignity of the Ethiopian Christians was caused not by the non-baptized but by the "co-believing" European colonizers.

According to the author's observations the majority of the Ethiopian Muslims differ from their fellow-believers in the countries of "orthodox" Islam: they rarely reveal ritual fanaticism, their women do not bear a veil or head-cover and they do not lead hidden way of life. Nomads live rather according to pre-Islamic tribal traditions than to the laws of sharia.

Italian occupants in Ethiopia (1935-1941) exterminated patriotically minded monophysite Christian clergy and tried to flirt with the Islamic community. During the reign of the British Administration (1941-1952) in some regions of the country the authorities tried to sow feuds between Christians and Muslims to strengthen their own influence.

The Empire tried to take a number of limited measures to put end to religious attritions, but it did not succeed in quenching centrifugal trends among various Ethiopian nationalities, caused by prolonged religious and national discrimination.

By the 1970s two major zones of religious struggle between Islam and Christianity and those of national separatism were formed here—Eritrea and Ogaden. The author's opinion is that if religious and nationalist movements in the epoch of the Empire had some features of the liberation struggle, after the National Democratic Revolution of 1974 the situation drastically changed. The revolutionary leadership adopted and began to implement a progressive program in the field of confessional and national relations. It provides for eliminating any discrimination, for the equality of rights, the recognition of history, language and religion of each nationality. These activities face serious problems. However, the radical social and economic reforms and new statehood of the country are to promote in the long run to solve confessional and national issues.

MYTHOLOGY OF CHINESE NEOLITH

V.V. EVSIUKOV

The article gives a semantic interpretation of the pictures in pottery vessels belonging to Chinese *Yangshao* neolithic culture (5-3 Millenia B.C.). These images are based upon a number of complex mythological themes. One of the most pithy is a cosmogonic myth pictured in patterns of final stages of *Yangshao*—*Panshan* and *Machang*.

Judging by a considerable number of pictures, this is a popular myth of the neolithic Protochinese. The essence of the reconstructed myth is that some mythological ancestor, creating the universe, separated the sky and the earth, then was dismembered and died, and his body formed the cosmos. Myths of this type are spread throughout the world. Their universal character allows to consider them as a reflection of complex social processes going in ancient societies.

The world conception of the Yangshao people included also notions on the so-called world tree connecting the earth with the sky. In the Panshan patterns this universal mythological image is represented by a serpent which is a symbolic substitute for the tree. It finds its explanation in the fact that the serpent is a most popular mythological personification of the zoomorphic mode¹ of the universe. The existence of the world tree suggests a division of the mythological cosmos on three vertical zones. This can be clearly retraced in the Yangshao ornamentation. The structure of a horizontal space is of an utmost complexity. The existence of crosslike compositions proves that the Yangshao people considered it as a tetraatomic space. Researchers usually explain such a structure of a horizontal space by the correspondence to the four cardinal points. However, the analysis of patterns of the *Panpo* period makes clear that this concept is based upon the structure of society divided on two exogamous phratries which as though penetrate each other owing to marriages. It finds its expression in totemic terms.

Not merely the society and, accordingly, the cosmos, but also an individual himself, by the Yangshao conception, had a tetraatomic structure. The notions about four souls of a human being, dividing on two categories—"material" and "ideal" souls, are an illustration of this conception. It can be explained by following: each member of a tribe was supposed to be connected from birth with both phratries, i.e. to be "dual." The idea of the identity of an individual with the society and the cosmos, forms the basis of the concept of microcosm, according to which the man is a symbolic analogue of the universe. The image of a three-legged frog symbolizing the moon, the moisture, the cold, and the nether world in general, which is popular in the *Majiayao* patterns, is an example of this concept in the Yangshao mythology.

FROM THE HISTORY OF TIBETAN AND MONGOLIAN DIDACTIC LITERATURE

A.G. SAZYKIN

The Didactic literature, represented in the written heritage of Mongolian peoples by a great number of works, mainly translated from Tibetan, includes a very detailed exposition of practically all the aspects of the Buddhist teaching on morality.

In addition to manuscripts and xylographed books containing, as a rule, more or less vast codes of provisions of

Buddhist morality, little messages written on behalf of superior lamas of Tibet and Mongolia, aimed at criticizing particular sins unacceptable for the Buddhist ethics, circulated as well among Mongols. Smoking was considered as one of such grave sins.

In the collections of Leningrad, Ulan-Bator and Kizil several manuscripts with anti-smoking messages in Mongolian were discovered; their authors are allegedly high-ranking hierarchs of Tibet and Mongolia.

Up to now these pieces of Mongolian didactic literature stood out of the field of vision of Orientalists. Thus, the present article is the first attempt to make a review of manuscript messages on the hazard of smoking; it contains the translation of the most interesting and complete among such texts.

ON CRITERIA OF SMALL COMMODITY PEASANT ECONOMY

(ON MATERIALS OF COUNTRIES OF NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST)

A.D. DAVYDOV

The author believes that the long-standing controversy among Orientalists as to whether the villages in the Asian countries are dominated by natural and seminatural economy or, already, by small commodity peasant economy, is explained to a considerable extent by the differences in the selection of criteria for the qualitative definition of those types of economy. Leaning on the relevant theses contained in the works of the founders of Marxism-Leninism the author classifies the criteria of small peasant economy into the following single system: 1) peasants' private property (including landed property) based on their own labour; 2) commodity exchange based on the social (though still far from complete) division of labour; 3) complete and irreversible dependence on the market; specialization on one or more commodity products; certain intensification of economy and higher productivity of labour on the old primitive (or partly already on the new) technical basis, induced by market competition; 4) at the same time, still relatively low general level of marketable surplus with the predominance of natural reproduction (including means of production) and of consumption orientation of economy; 5) standard middle peasant type and parameters of economy and petty bourgeois class orientation. These system-forming characteristics, as the article stresses, are indispensable and sufficient, while the introduction of several additional criteria of marketability (non-artificial marketization of peasant economy, real versus ghost landed property, etc.) leads to the erroneous assertion of the allegedly insufficiently high prevalence of small commodity peasant economy in the Asian village. Leaning on the qualitative criteria of small commodity peasant economy it is possible, as the author demonstrates, even with the undeveloped Asian statistics and absence of

respective direct budget surveys, by using indirect quantitative indicators, to determine the number of middle peasant-owners; the scale of commodity output broken down by groups of households; the scale of their regional commodity specialization; the degree of their intensification; the decline of the rural handicrafts as an indicator of the dependence on the urban market, etc. The article cites the results of a case study using direct and indirect indicators relating to the villages of Turkey, Iran and Afghanistan in the 1970s. The number of working, middle peasant, private property households producing marketable surplus is prevalent in those countries. Consequently, the petty bourgeois element in the villages is also rather significant, providing a key to the understanding of the class political nature of some revolutionary processes in those, as well as probably in other Asian countries.

FEUDALISM IN THE WEST AND THE EAST

V.E. PETROVSKY

The author critically analyzes certain provisions of the article by L.B. Alayev "Formational Characteristics of Feudalism and the East" (1987, No 3). The main contradiction of this work consists, in his opinion, in that, defining the position of a classic form of feudalism on the East, it creates a theoretic model of feudalism on European materials. This is considered by the author of the present article as an expression of an inconsequent overcoming of the deep-rooted Europe-centered world outlook of certain Orientalists. As a peculiar example of this shortcoming he considers the idea of the exchange of gifts as a specific feudal exchange relation which is characteristic for European feudalism but not at all for Eastern feudal systems. Criticizing this method of construction of theoretic models of feudalism, the author proposes his own approach to principles of modelling of social systems. Models are not created by an arbitrary composition of formational features but by an analysis of classically developed social forms in which these features are expressed to the full. An example of such modelling is the "Capital" created by K. Marx on the basis of a thorough study of capitalism in Great Britain, where this mode of production got classic forms. From Marx's point of view, only the most fully developed social form allows to properly understand a given mode of production and its essential qualities as well as previous social forms. The article contends that the mere suggestion by L.B. Alayev that the most developed feudal forms should be found on the East must have induced him to construct the model of feudalism on Eastern materials. Finally, the author joins the researchers who consider that European criteria are useless for the conception of Eastern feudal systems.

MODERN CAPITALISM AND DEVELOPING WORLD: CHARACTER AND PROSPECTS OF RELATIONS

The development of concepts of the new political thinking, on the one hand, and the process of consolidation of a non-nuclear and non-violent world on this basis, on the other hand, depend upon the further course of a number of world processes whose character and prospects are not yet clear in full measure. Certain key problems have been raised by M.S. Gorbachev in his report at the solemn meeting in Kremlin on the occasion of 70th anniversary of the Great October, 2 Nov 87:

- will the imperialism be able, in view of the pressing necessity and in the interests of human survival, to renounce the use of force in international relations;
- can the capitalist economy manage without the military production;
- will the imperialism be in a position to abandon the neo-colonialist exploitation of developing countries?

M.S. Gorbachev notes that only time will give definite answers to these questions. However, the task of the social science is to begin right now searching for answers, firstly, at the theoretic level. The three questions being intrinsically associated, the specific character of the journal "Peoples of Asia and Africa" suggests, however, an emphasis be put on the third one. A fundamental elaboration of the problem will require, to all appearance, a certain time. Therefore, at the present stage the editorial staff have organized this "Round table" by correspondence, a sort of "brain attack" on the problem, not bound by existing stereotypes. As distinct from approaches which prevailed before, when the notion about an inevitable imperialist exploitation of peoples of developing countries was the starting-point of the majority of theoretic and ideological concepts, this time it was proposed to discuss possibilities for the modern capitalism (which is still undergoing changes) to manage without such an exploitation.

The discussion made necessary to define more exactly, even to re-consider to a certain extent, such conventional concepts as "imperialism," "neo-colonialism" and "non-equivalent exchange," interpreted by the participants of the discussion in different ways. The discussion was focused on the question: how deep may be modifications of the social and economic structure usually identified in the Marxist literature as "imperialism," and what are the consequences of developing countries' exploitation from the point of view of their backwardness and poverty being a potential source of global conflict? This is connected with two more specific questions:

- the Marx's formula of the extended capitalist reproduction suggests possible growth of capital on its own basis, without an usurpation of surplus products of a non-capitalist environment. To what extent does this formula apply to the modern world capitalist economy?

—what is the character of economic relations between the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy? What are expressions of an "exploitation element" of these relations? Is the exploitation unilateral? What are specific features of exploitation of the periphery by the centres as compared to "normal" relations of capitalist exploitation? What is the economic content of the so-called "neo-colonialist exploitation": surplus products derived from the disparity in national levels of labour productivity? superprofit from manipulation of prices by monopolies? something else?

The attempts to answer these questions formed the essence of the present discussion.

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Eastern Studies Under Perestroika

18070167c Moscow *NARODY AZII I AFRIKI* in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 4-19

[Article by G.F. Kim under the rubric "3rd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars": "Oriental Studies Under the Conditions of Perestroika"]

[Text] *The 3rd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars, devoted to the topic "Interaction and Mutual Influence of Civilizations and Cultures," was held in May of this year in Dushanbe. A revised text of the paper by All-Union Association of Oriental Scholars and USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Deputy Director and USSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member G.F. Kim and an article by TaSSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute Director and TaSSR Academy of Sciences Corresponding Member A.T. Tursunov (based on his supplementary paper) are presented below. A report on the principal results of the conference will be published in the next issue of the journal.*

A revolutionary restructuring is underway today in the country in general and in Soviet academics in particular. This impels us to think seriously about the role of Oriental scholars in life and the expanded struggle: will we be just passive observers of the ensuing beneficial changes, or will we make our own contribution to the formation of the new thinking and the world view of perestroika? While observing modesty in the assertion

of achievements, one cannot be modest in the formulation of goals or in the awareness of what share of responsibility for the success of the common cause rests with us.

A person, feeling himself to be in a new and changed world, cannot fully comprehend it without realizing what role is played in it by the countries, peoples and cultures of Asia and Africa. It is becoming more and more apparent today that a theory of history or a theory of culture is impossible without a comprehensive regard for the contribution made by those peoples, comprising an overwhelming portion of humanity. There cannot be a truly scientific theory of historical development if the Orient figures in such a theory as an "exception to the rule," as an "underdeveloped West." Eurocentrism meanwhile continues to predominate both in theories of the historical process and in techniques for studying cultural processes, and we often still view the obscure Afro-Asian shore, like Magellan or Vasco da Gama, from on board a European ship. A critical review of cumulative theoretical baggage and the fruitful development of Marxism as the study of society are impossible without the active participation of Oriental scholars, and that means that the CPSU and the Soviet government will be unable to obtain a suitable representation of the course of the world process, which could lead in turn to stagnation and even major mistakes in the development of program tasks in foreign policy.

In a certain sense, Oriental studies are better adapted than other branches of the social sciences for devising a new methodological approach and for the comprehensive research of man, since this science has been of an integrated nature since its very inception. This comprehensiveness was initially the consequence of the insufficient differentiation of various aspects of knowledge of the Orient, but today it is taking on a different nature, fostering the development of research at the junctures of disciplines and potentially easing the development of a multilateral approach to man. Both the difficulties and the prospects of Oriental studies are linked with a twofold task—preserving an integrity of view of social processes in the countries being studied, on the one hand, and strengthening the coordination of such different fields of academics as general history, the history of literature, language studies, political science and economics, on the other.

There are still great opportunities and underutilized reserves on these paths.

An important element of a description of the state of Oriental studies is the question of the extent of study of the histories of the countries of the Orient. It is natural that Oriental studies as an integral part of Soviet society should place principal emphasis on researching the basic problems of modern times that are closely linked with the tasks of a radical restructuring of all aspects of the life

of our country and international relations. But one of our most important findings in this realm consists of the fact that without profound study of the historical past and the deep strata of historical and popular tradition, without an organic fusion of history and modern times, it is impossible to understand and substantiate the general laws of the contemporary development of the Orient.

The advantages of the mutual enrichment of various Oriental-studies disciplines are distinctly noticeable in a study of the ancient Orient. The close collaboration of philologists and historians has led to the creation of a series of basic works on the history of the ancient Orient and, it could be stated more broadly, the history of the ancient world, in which the depth of analysis of sources is combined with summaries making possible the inclusion of the history of the Orient in world history.

Material results have been obtained on the basis of integrated historical and cultural analysis of such ancient Oriental regions as Indostan, the countries of northeastern Africa and the Red Sea basin. Scholars in Moscow, Leningrad, Novosibirsk and some other academic centers have done much for the study of social, economic and cultural history of ancient China and its ideological teachings and statehood.

Work on reading and publishing texts in ancient Eastern languages that are preserved in collections on the territory of the USSR and abroad, especially texts from Indic and Iranian languages from Central Asia, is of great significance. The South Tajik Expedition headed by TaSSR Academy of Sciences Academician B.A. Litvinskiy is operating successfully, excavations are underway in Pendzhikent, Otrar, Staraya Nisa, in Surkhan-Darya and Tashkent oblasts, in Khorezmza, at Afrasiaba, in Sharikhistan and the like. The constellation of Paleolithic artifacts of the Transcaucasus (Kura-Arak and other cultures) is being expanded, and intensive research continues on artifacts from the Late Bronze and Early Iron ages, including artifacts from Urartu and ancient Kolkhida among others. Research is underway across the whole Transcaucasus on cities and strata from antiquity and Hellenic times. The processes of assimilation and organic perception by the population of the Transcaucasus of both Urart and Akhemedidian cultures have been considered of late. Soviet-Afghan, Soviet-Indian, Soviet-Iranian, Soviet-Syrian and Soviet-Yemeni expeditions are successfully operating outside our country with the participation of specialists from academic institutes of Oriental studies, archaeology, ethnography and the Hermitage, as well as from republic academic institutions, and first and foremost the academies of sciences with their institutes of Oriental studies, archaeology and history.

Research into ancient Oriental sources conducted over recent decades has allowed Soviet scholars to move from conclusions that arise largely from general theoretical premises and judgments to conclusions based on factual material, to pose in concrete historical form the processes of labor, organization of production, forms of

exploitation, social relations and the like. A series of works on these problems from the pen of M.A. Dandamayev was awarded a USSR State Prize in 1987. An original concept of the ancient society of the East, whose adoption would signify a considerable development in Marxist formation theory, has been created based on this concrete research. It will lie at the foundation of Volume I of the "History of the Orient from Ancient Times to the Present Day" that is now being prepared. Discussions will obviously continue surrounding this concept, in which the term "slave-owning formation" is not now used apropos of the ancient Orient.

It is essential to dwell on one aspect of the topicality of ancient Oriental topics in particular. The issue is the utilization—justly and unjustly—of historical or pseudo-historical data to substantiate mutual territorial claims. These or those aspects of the national question in its contemporary form are linked with psychological as well as economic factors. The questions "Who are we?", "Where did we come from?" and "How are we different from our neighbors?" are taking on great significance. There sometimes occurs a false treatment of the facts, or else simply anti-scholarly conjectures, regarding the ancestors of a given people along with the development of those problems on a scientific basis. Such opinions frequently serve as an important factor in the ideological substantiation of nationalist sentiments and notions of national exclusivity. These opinions can and should be countered with objective scientific data. The participation of skilled specialists on the ancient Orient in discussions on such problems has played a positive role more than once. Features by specialists on these issues are rare, however, and are usually limited to academic publications. They should receive more widespread coverage in the press for the purpose of having a greater influence on the intelligentsia. The scholars of Moscow and Leningrad working on an ethnic history of the Slavic peoples could serve as an example of a strictly scientific approach to the issue of ethnogenesis. A roundtable discussion organized by the journal VOPROSY ISTORII (1988, No 3) testifies to the unfavorable state of affairs in this realm.

The academic issues faced by scholars of the ancient Orient are being successfully resolved overall, which cannot be said of their organizational problems. They are not succeeding in stabilizing the supply of qualified personnel in many fields at the essential levels. Some disciplines in Soviet Oriental studies with honored traditions in the past have actually become extinct (Hebrew, Bible and Koran studies). There are fewer and fewer qualified personnel in Iranian studies. The quantity of Assyrian scholars is exceedingly limited (there is just one specialist in Moscow, for instance). The current comparatively favorable situation in the study of the ancient Orient will inevitably be replaced by a decline if the problem of training academic personnel is not resolved.

The delays in publishing works on antiquity remains an unsolved problem. An especially grave situation has

taken shape with the publication of the multi-volume "History of the Ancient Orient." The 2nd All-Union Conference of Oriental Scholars (1983) spoke of prolonged delays in publishing the first book; it came out soon afterward. Today, five years later, the second book is still awaited. The whole publication was being prepared as early as in the 1970s. If its publication is accomplished at such a slow pace, not only will the volumes that have already been prepared have to be revised, but the volumes that have come out will become obsolete before publication is completed.

The decline that can be forecast in relation to the study of antiquity ensued long ago in the realm of the history of the Middle Ages and modern times. True, in recent years a series of basic works have appeared, for example, on the medieval city and on Tangut law, a monograph by A.A. Iskenderov on Toyotomi Hideyoshi and a monograph on the history of China, among others. It cannot be asserted overall, however, that Soviet medieval scholars have reached a higher level of understanding of the history of the Orient in the Middle Ages over the last five years. Academic cooperation with the medieval specialists on Western Europe and Russia is also weak. The concept of "Oriental feudalism" that was most widespread among medieval Oriental scholars remains poorly developed, largely contradictory and not part of the world historical context as a result.

The publication of ancient texts from the medieval cultures of Oriental countries is continuing. It is gratifying to note that the professionalism of text- and source-studies work has risen of late at republic academic centers. The tie between textual and intrinsically historical research is more poorly accomplished, however. Researchers are sometimes guided by taste or entirely random considerations in selecting topics for research, translation and publication. These publications are not aimed at solving topical academic problems. There are still no well-defined prospects for the study of the most important artifacts at many academic centers, and a "map of blank spots" composed with a regard for the academic and political requirements of modern times is essentially lacking on a nationwide scale.

The acute shortage of professional personnel, lack of a well thought-out system for training specialists and low level of existing printing capabilities even in Moscow and Leningrad, not to mention the republics, are all impeding the expansion of this work. A cataloguing and accounting of the whole inventory of Oriental manuscripts preserved in the repositories of the USSR should be done. The All-Union Association of Oriental Scholars (AAOS) and the Oriental Section of the Archaeological Commission have already taken the first steps in this regard. It is extremely important to conduct research in the realm of techniques and principles for handling and publishing texts.

The same problems exist in specific form in the realm of historical source studies. The lack of work in which

methods of Oriental source studies and special disciplines would be summarized is hindering the development of source studies and the training of personnel. The standing collective of the Barthold Readings at the 7th Conference in 1984 decided to perform preparatory work: analysis and improvement of methods already known, the development of new ones and publication of these materials in the form of thematic anthologies. The special disciplines of the "source-studies cycle," the development of some of which is without personnel, require no less collective effort. A center has been created for gathering materials on Oriental metrology, and collective efforts in the development of sphragistics, paleography and diplomacy among others have been developed and are already having practical results.

Today it is clear to all that further expanded research into the history of the medieval Orient and the revelation of general laws and local variations of its development depend to a decisive extent on expanding the source base for historical research, wherein mass sources—documentary, numismatic, epigraphic, sphragistic—promise the most information on the least studied historical and economic problems. Only a comprehensive study of sources, i.e. a simultaneous reliance of historical research on all types and forms of sources, can create a qualitative turnaround in the development of many historical problems. But it looks like neither historians nor source scholars are hurrying to implement this turnaround. Historians, as a rule, prefer the accustomed narrative sources, and source scholars are not publishing other types and forms of sources energetically enough.

The study and publication of document sources is not bad in some republics, while others they are clearly lagging. The greatest store (about 320,000) of documents is in Uzbekistan, but only a small portion of them has been published. Several years ago, the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute proposed to the UzSSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute the establishment of the series "Arab Script Documents in the Collections of Uzbekistan" on a coordinated basis. This idea must finally be realized. The state of publication of epigraphic, numismatic and sphragistic sources in the republics also differs in rate and volume. Such forms of publication as catalogues and bodies of literary work are most convenient for the independent utilization of these sources by historians. Treasuries of coins as generators of most extensive historical and economic information could be published efficiently in the series "Treasuries of Oriental Coins in the Collections of the USSR." This project has been considered for a while now, and it is time to set about its realization. There are not enough personnel, but the publication of non-traditional mass sources can and must be accelerated on the basis of inter-academic coordination and under the aegis of the AAOS.

The state of study of recent and modern history (before World War II) also evokes concern. There are practically no basic works covering the history of the East in the era of colonialism. True, matters here stand better with the study

of China. Attracting new sources and employing new methods in researching them, Soviet China scholars have greatly deepened existing knowledge of the economic history, social order, public movements and ideological processes of China in the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries. The modern history of other countries is not being studied as successfully, however, nor are the problems of this most important process in worldwide history as a tragic, bloody but inevitable meeting of East and West, two civilizations moreover at different formational stages, being researched. This decline in the study of a period in which great successes have been achieved in the past is exceedingly regrettable for two reasons. First of all, the study of the colonial period is essential for purely academic considerations—the global synthesis of cultures that continues today and has already provided results in the form of the developed Japan, the developing countries, the struggle of capitalism and socialism as social reference points and the like all began and occurred in that period. Our depictions of modern times will inevitably remain "flat" and primitive without a careful study of the "colonial synthesis." Second, the problems of colonialism are today at the center of an ideological struggle in the sphere of history. History of course has served as the apple of discord for the whole span of it for frequently opposing social forces, but modern history and the problems of colonialism against the background of the ideological struggle surrounding history in recent years have occupied a particular place.

The scholars of the developing countries, in reflecting on the problems of backwardness, pose again and again the question of the historical responsibility of colonialism and its legacy. The scholars of the former mother countries, in counterpoise to this, have uncovered whole strata of new materials on the basis of which they defend the idea of a beneficial effect overall from colonial regimes on the economic and spiritual development of the dependent countries. Our basic positions, developed as early as K. Marx (the dual role of colonialism), are clear, but our scholars cannot today take part effectively in a concrete discussion of the role of colonial tribute or the comparative significance of the destructive and creative consequences of these or those measures implemented by the colonial authorities, since our scholars are essentially unfamiliar with the new materials and have not even been occupied with these problems for many years.

This brief listing of the tasks in studying the history of the Orient testifies to the fact that an acute necessity has arisen today of a determined expansion of the workfront of historical research. It is difficult to count on the successful fulfillment of the tasks put before the social sciences by the 27th CPSU Congress without it: uncovering the general laws of social progress and thereby assisting the revolutionary renewal of society.

The question of the link of history and modern times also merits especial attention because, as is well known, a Division of the Problems of the World Economy and International Relations was recently created at the USSR

Academy of Sciences which includes the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute. Some institute staff members and Oriental-studies colleagues from other institutions are experiencing a wholly understandable alarm in this connection—will the re-organization lead to the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute being turned into a institution "narrowly" oriented just toward the study of modern times, thereby losing its comprehensive nature? It should be noted in this regard that, first, the leadership and the whole collective of the institute will do everything to see that that does not happen. Second, the leadership of the division also understands very well that an Oriental Studies Institute oriented just toward modern times and cut off from the study of the past, from artifacts, from its philological base, would be deprived of its academic value. The completeness of Oriental studies, after all, will also be preserved because the object of study itself has still undergone insufficient differentiation. If we address the real processes of the East, it becomes obvious that political and ideological factors are influencing economic development to a considerable extent; religious awareness is in turn leaving its imprint on socio-political processes and international relations, while traditional family, clan, estate, caste and denominational ties largely determine self-awareness and camouflage or even suppress class solidarity while imparting a specific nature to internal political conflicts. These countries overall, as a result of the specific features of the historical path of development of the countries of the Orient—the slow pace of social evolution over the span of millennia leading to the accumulation and congealing of cultural traditions; the violent and non-systematic transition from a state of profound backwardness to contemporary forms of economics and political organization—still comprise and will comprise for a long time an odd conglomeration of medieval and modern institutions, world views and individuals themselves that cannot be investigated without being occupied professionally with the traditional aspects and features of the social order.

Not all Oriental scholars are taking this into account to the proper extent. The differentiation of sciences has a logic of its own and sometimes proceeds faster than is allowed by the object of research. Economists and political scientists are appearing who are trying to study the contemporary Orient as such, based on a single chronological interval. This leads, however, as a rule, to a distortion of the level of socio-economic and political development and the degree of modernization of the mentality and, as a result, to erroneous political conclusions and decisions. Facts and phenomena like the Islamic revolution in Iran, the interdenominational civil war in Lebanon, the Sikh separatists in India and the ethno-denominational conflict in Sri Lanka are possible in principle in other countries of the Orient as well, and all aspects of the past of those countries should be studied in order to forecast them. Even the political development of Japan, a country that is far from a "developing" one, is progressing in the form of the struggle of patronage (feudal by typology) cliques within

the ruling party. The different questions of history and the traditional social and spiritual order of Oriental peoples could move to the forefront at any time, and it is possible to be ready for that only by continuing to research the "traditional cycle" of Oriental studies in close contact with the study of contemporary processes.

But this contact must be reinforced from both sides. Historians of various types should for their part reflect on the knowledge of what aspects of the past is especially necessary in the contemporary situation and direct their efforts toward uncovering and showing namely those aspects. Our historians have for a long time considered it their principal methodological task to prove that the Orient was subordinate to the overall general laws of historical development, but it should be taken into account that these overall general laws were developed at one time by K. Marx and F. Engels using European materials. The theory of formations was later extended to the whole world without adequate theoretical work to adapt it for the functions of a worldwide theory. A considerable schism opened up between this theory, claiming universality, and the general laws "at work" at the lower, concrete historical levels, which led to the fact that the actual specific features of the history of the Orient at all stages of its development were relegated to the background, and were frequently covered up or not noted at all. It was thus quite difficult for specialists on modern times to take historical factors into account even when they wanted to. A person interested in the history or culture of the Orient was often offered an exceedingly uncomplicated picture by the authors of Oriental-studies works: this or that country had passed through the stages of slaveholding, feudalism and colonial or semi-colonial plundering, when capitalist relations began to develop in it. The unique coloring of the Orient and its unique and specific nature, so important namely for an understanding of and a regard for today's practices in the development of Asia and Africa, disappear from these works and are replaced by a collection of dead facts and depictions.

Oriental studies namely as philology and the science of "antiquities" had a practical thrust from the very beginning. An understanding of the situation contemporary for the researcher, practical usefulness for the politicians of one's own country—at the time, a colonial policy—was always considered the pinnacle of efforts. It is no accident that after the end of the 18th century the chief centers of Oriental studies became England and Holland—the major colonial powers of the time—while at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, the eminent archaeological and Sanskrit studies schools arose in Germany, which was preparing to battle for a re-partitioning of the colonies. Russian academic Oriental studies, proud of its apolitical nature, also not accidentally had considerable successes in Caucasian, Turkic, Iranian and Islamic studies—realms of science associated with the colonial policies of Russia. This link of science and practice can be traced to the present. The best Oriental-studies schools today, retaining a comprehensive nature (the study of the traditional order and

culture along with modern times), have developed in the United States and Japan—countries with claims to a global role in world politics.

The practical thrust of academics is an immutable reality that every principled and conscientious scholar cannot fail to take into account. It is another matter that the link of science and practice should not be understood in primitive fashion. The highest manifestation of this link is not a description of information "for instance," but a development of basic science, which makes possible the compilation of a scientifically substantiated recommendation on each practical issue.

It seems to me that at this stage that a separation of the study of the contemporary Orient from the study of its many centuries of culture and historical tradition would inflict harm to both constituent elements of Orient studies. This would have an unfavorable effect on the study of history, because modern times are shining a bright light on the historical process. This separation would to a no lesser extent impoverish the study of modern times, which would be deprived of one of its measures.

It should candidly be acknowledged that history as science has lost prestige in recent years—and the more so, the closer the subjects it is occupied with are to the modern day. This is a serious reproach to our historians engaged in a study of the events and processes of recent decades, as well as to political scientists, although recent years have advanced us in understanding the processes that have transpired in the Orient. The concept of a synthesis of the traditional and the contemporary has been advanced and is being gradually expanded. This concept could serve as a point of departure for the development of both the political science of the bourgeois countries of the Orient and the problems of socialist orientation. The transitional phases of development, demonstrating the intertwining and interaction of formationally contradictory elements at all structural levels of society—from the basis to the superstructure—have been subjected to analysis within the framework of this concept. The theory of social synthesis will perhaps be the core of the synthesis of the diverse points of view that are being expressed today by Soviet academics on problems of the prospects of capitalism and socialism in the Third World. It is aimed at the fullest possible theoretical interpretation of the "tertiary nature" of capitalism in the Orient and, at the same time, uncovering the modified but fundamentally classic general laws of the development of that formation.

The approach to Oriental societies itself has expanded considerably over recent years. The basic classes, as well as social segments, that did not attract attention earlier have been subjected to special research—the intelligentsia, the lower urban classes, the ruling elite. Our knowledge of the specific nature of the party and political structure of the Asian and African states has become more profound. A series of interesting monographs analyzing the events of the Iranian Revolution of 1978-79

and political events in India, the ASEAN countries and Japan has come out. Politically significant research has been done on problems of the history of the communist movement in Asia and Africa. The fragmentary nature of academic inquiry and lack of connection of individual pieces of research with the historiographical tradition, a general understanding of the topic and a strategy for the future nonetheless remain a common shortcoming of all the work being done in this realm.

V.I. Lenin, as is well known, put before Marxist theory the task of developing a materialistic theory of politics. Not one of the disciplines of our social-studies complex, however, has as yet resolved this task. It seems to me that experience has been accumulated in the "contemporary cycle" of Oriental studies over recent years that makes it possible to set about a sweeping academic program whose aim is the development of a materialistic theory of politics for the Orient or Oriental-studies theoretical political science. This is determined not so much by the current level of study of individual problems of politics in the developing countries—which cannot satisfy us—as it is the comprehensive nature of Oriental studies, the merits of which were mentioned above. In my opinion, an individual of theoretical political science will be defined by the extent to which that science, having a wholly independent topic (the development of political relations), is able to integrate the methodology and arsenal of history, sociology and cultural studies and how organically it will be able to rely on the conclusions of the economic and philosophical sciences.

What is hindering Oriental-studies political scientists from setting about the resolution of this sweeping task reckoned for the future? What is the difficulty in the development of a unified academic program in the realm of Oriental-studies political science? It seems that there are two factors serving as a drag herein: first, the considerably eroded and undefined nature of basic theoretical knowledge on politics (this knowledge is essentially reduced to a quite scant scholastic-dogmatic set of abstract provisions); and, second, the actual separation of political science from political practice, the gap between what is written by Oriental scholars and the real political processes of the countries of the East.

As for the basic findings, I will cite just a few questions requiring more careful and profound study than has been done so far. The structure of the political superstructure is markedly different in societies of differing formational types, as is the nature of the interaction of relations of power and ownership. This truism has not as yet been properly developed theoretically in our academic literature. Oriental scholars, for example, are not advancing by repeating the somewhat dusty theory of the "special" role of the state in the Orient but not striving to substantiate that theory with good comparative-history material. The lack of clarity of the basic notions in this realm is leading to an exaggerated regard for the abilities of the state elite to transform social relations by the force

of political will. Another example: we have no understanding of where the relative independence of the political superstructure begins and ends. A lack of knowledge of these boundaries is sharply narrowing the methodological base of political science and is leading in practice to arbitrariness and a lack of substantiation in political evaluations and forecasts.

Gaps in basic research and the separation of political science from life go hand in hand and nourish each other. What should be done to overcome the inertia that took shape here during the years of stagnation? First of all, the system of relations of political science with political practice that took shape over many decades should clearly be deemed faulty. The role of science was largely reduced to the task of propaganda support for each new turn in the political course. But a science that is not independent loses its value in practice. Only one conclusion suggests itself from the extant situation: in order to be of assistance to the foreign-policy practice of the state, in order to acquire prestige in the eyes of communists and progressive public opinion in the countries of the Orient, Oriental-studies political science should be autonomous of the practicing departments in the postulation of research topics and the formulation of conclusions. The materials and conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress relating to the situation in the social sciences discuss this.

The unilateral approach to the study of politics should also be overcome. Unilateralism is manifested in the fact that the chief, and sometimes exclusive, attention is devoted to studying the official doctrines of the ruling parties and the activities of state institutions, i.e. the "upper reaches" of the socio-political pyramid. At the same time, the actual living conditions of the working majority are almost not studied, which conditions actually put onto the agenda the task of mass political struggle and the problems of political democracy. The study of the political role of the state in the developing countries should evidently become less scholastic: the concrete results of the activity of the nation-state in the role of social reformer in particular are deserving of more attentive study. These results, as a rule, are exceedingly contradictory and often make themselves felt in an increase in the politization of the popular masses, a growth in their awareness and the appearance of specific forms of mass political protest.

The artificial division as a result of which major events of contemporary political life in the Orient (revolution, civil and international conflicts, the fall of dictatorial regimes, mass popular agitations and the like) are analyzed using the great deal of factual material just in official developments and situational analyses and enriching theoretical science almost not at all should be overcome in planning political-science research. The most important political occurrences of series of events should be included in the works of Oriental scholars not as the sum of isolated examples, but as the natural and naturally possible base for the development of theory.

Only thus is it possible to devise a periodization of political processes, establish their typological correspondence and understand the real mechanism of "domestic" and "external" in politics and much more.

Finally, we clearly cannot be satisfied with the currently existing separation of political findings from traditional historical knowledge. It has already been noted above that the Oriental-studies political scientist should thoroughly know and study the past so as to distinguish the derivations of contemporary problems in it. Politics as the sphere of the clash of class (group) interests and politics as culture that has absorbed the experience of prior generations crystallized in tradition should be the simultaneous topics of study. Only such an approach can have appreciable results for studying, for example, the ethno-political and denominational-political conflicts in the Orient. Almost all of the few summary works on the ethno-national issues in the Orient, which have been prepared primarily by ethnographers, were moreover published in the 1970s. The ethnic and national problems of Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and the mainland portion of Southeast Asia have not been studied systematically for 10-15 years now. An approach that is simplistic to the point of being primitive predominates in a number of works on the national problems of individual countries, problems that are considered "class" problems by tradition alone; they are distinguished by a poor conceptual apparatus, schematicism and an absence of serious analysis of foreign conceptions of inter-ethnic relations. It must be acknowledged that the "standard," fundamental works of philosophers studying national problems are divorced from reality, while the works of ethnographers do not take political realities sufficiently into account. It should be noted at the same time that much has been done in recent years in the realm of studying national issues: the overall general laws of the evolution of ethnic self-awareness and ethnogenesis in recent and modern history have been uncovered using the specific materials of various countries and peoples, and the interaction of ethnic groups and the political system of society is being studied along with the interaction of states and the dialectical tie between the processes of consolidation of individual ethnic groups and the supra-ethnic social communities within the framework of countries.

Religious studies are once more becoming an independent area of Soviet Oriental studies (after a considerable interlude). The ignoring of religion as an object of study was determined, either clearly or in hidden fashion, by the widespread conviction that religion was moving into the past, that a process of secularization was underway around the world and, in order not to lag behind, it was necessary to devote principal attention to newer, recently appeared and essentially more "progressive" forms of ideology. This presumption proved to be unfounded. The number of believers in the world is growing, and the role of religion as both a cultural and a political factor is on the rise. Not to note this is to engage in self-deception.

Quite intensive research has developed on a number of religions, and first and foremost on Islam, from the point of view of their interaction with other elements of the superstructure. The link between formational shifts in the developing countries and the religious processes transpiring in them, the form of the "reply" of religious systems to the "challenge" of modern times, has been analyzed in a number of works.

This has now proven not to be enough, however. Profound research on each of the religions existing in the countries of the Orient in their denominational diversity will have to be expanded, and the role of religions in the formation of the cultural diversity of each of the great civilizations of the Orient and the particular role of each religion in the political process attempted to be revealed. Religious studies themselves as an academic area should undergo changes. It is well known that theoretical religious studies were created and based first and foremost on the study of Christianity, as a consequence of which a series of its tenets and theories are proving not to be entirely acceptable for analyzing the situation in the countries of the Orient. One brilliant example is the aforementioned concept of secularization and the emergence of bourgeois atheism, which was not "triggered" in the countries we are studying by virtue of the specific features of their historical development and by virtue of the largely different nature of Oriental religions compared to Christianity.

The problem of "scientific and technical progress and the religions of the Orient" is exceedingly important and at the same time little developed, and it requires study on two levels—on the level of mass consciousness, where religious principles are frequently a material drag on modernization, and at the level of elite religious consciousness, where the latest natural-science notions and traditional Oriental mysticism are joined. Here it is not a matter of the specific features of the historical development of the Orient, but rather probably the specific nature of Oriental mysticism, first and foremost Indo-Buddhist and Far Eastern, and the world-view principles inherent in them. Interest in Oriental mysticism in the West and in our country among chiefly the intelligentsia and the youth sometimes takes on distorted forms. It would be unscientific and short-sighted to explain this phenomenon only by an increase in exotica. Deep and serious research is needed here, the significance of which, of course, goes beyond the bounds of intrinsically Oriental-studies topics.

A restructuring of all scientific-research and practical work in the realm of religious studies and the devising of a new and more calm, considered and objected attitude toward issues associated with various aspects of this problem is essential, as are an awareness of the role of religion in the past and the modern world, the creation of an academic council on the history of religion in the Social-Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, the creation of centers for the study of Buddhism and Islam in the Oriental

Studies Institute, the offering of religious-studies teaching courses in the Oriental departments of universities and the like.

The development of religious studies should proceed within the framework of cultural studies—a new discipline that has not yet received full citizenship rights in our country, but which is nonetheless passing through the stage of gradual emergence, unfortunately lagging far behind the level of world cultural studies. The adaptation of the former socio-cultural property to the requirements of the modern day, the powerful cultural influence on the part of the West, an influence that has received the name of "cultural imperialism," the necessity of a struggle for new political thinking—all of this makes questions of the integral study of cultures politically topical. The imperialist countries are pursuing a purposeful policy of propagandizing their values, introducing new means of mass culture and reinforcing ties with the intelligentsia of the developing countries. This activity proves to be successful when it relies on basic research of the local cultural legacy and the specific features of the psychology of Oriental peoples and their value system. The ideological foundation of this research is frequently a search for the specific cultural nature that would provide for the "alternative development" of a society that differs from both capitalist and socialist models.

It should be noted that the idea of a "third path" that would not be a repetition of Western prototypes but rather just "one's own," unique, has great attraction. In coming out determinedly against this idea, in insisting that a "third is not allowed," we are perhaps quite correct in a theoretical regard, but politically this position contains elements of sectarianism. It is figured only using entirely like thinkers and discards broad circles of a comparatively progressive intelligentsia. It is also necessary to take into account herein the fact that post-colonial modernization, which is often accomplished under anti-capitalist slogans, does not and cannot lead directly to the affirmation of socialist paths of development. The practice of social development in the Orient has shown once again that after decolonization, an extremely long phase of searches and struggles for this or that development path ensues. Under these conditions, the "third path" is a period of distinctive "inter-formational" evolution that is exceedingly drawn out in time.

The idea is usually persistently prosecuted in the research of scholars from Asian and African countries that the chief task of those countries is the affirmation of their own originality and specific nature. A trend toward the "self-determination of civilizations," which is expressed either in ideas of synthesis and interaction or as the decisive confrontation of East and West, can be discerned more and more distinctly. The latter in such instances includes the Soviet Union as well. There is no promise in "unmasking" this trend, it must be studied and re-interpreted scientifically. The discussion, of course, does not concern appeasement toward anti-Soviet segments and their slogans.

The participation of Soviet researchers in international cultural-studies research is unfortunately minimal. This is explained by an underestimation of this academic area by the leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences. Some cultural-studies research is being conducted at the Oriental Studies Institute and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences as well as at other academic institutions. The following issues are being considered in a series of features at international conferences as well: a) the tasks and content of cultural studies; b) the correlation of cultural-studies and formational approaches; c) the correlation of culture and politics; d) trends and contradictions of cultural modernization; e) cultural expansion of the bourgeois West and opposition to it in the developing countries; and, f) the struggle of the developing countries for a new system of cultural relations.

The experience of the cultural ties of the USSR with the countries of Asia and Africa is still poorly studied, and the influence of socialist culture on the countries of the Orient is only superficially illuminated. Institutes and agencies without a vested interest in a critical analysis of this process have not been attracted to this work.

The significance of the human factor for economic development has now been widely acknowledged. But even though the criteria of labor and other economic activity are constantly figured in economic research, there are still no substantive analytical features on this topic, and our economists cannot make use of their results.

The study of the economies of the countries of the East is proceeding successfully overall. The study of the problems of the development of capitalism in the Orient has advanced appreciably over the last five years. A balance between the study of overall general laws of the development of capitalism and those modifications of the general laws that are caused by the specific national nature, backwardness and a "catch-up" strategy of development, along with changes in the external conditions compared to "classical" prototypes, is perhaps better maintained in economic research than in other types. The monograph "The Developing Countries in the World Capitalist Economy" by G.K. Shirokov and collective monographs on the problems of development strategy, labor resources, the food question and fuel and power resources among others have come out. A striving to interpret the process overall and develop a "model" of capitalism that can be applied toward this or that group of countries, as well as a discussion form for seeking the truth, have become typical for economists.

At the focal point of the debate are such basic questions as the correlation and interaction of economic and non-economic factors in the process of capitalist development, including the nature of the deformations of the mechanism of the law of value in the economics of the developing countries of the Orient, capitalism in the

system of a multi-institutional economy (and first and foremost methods of subordinating the traditional institutions of capitalism), the particular role of the state in the process of capitalist evolution, the economic conditions for the emergence of a "civil society" and the rate and nature of economic growth under the conditions of an "Eastern-periphery" version of capitalism.

The fact that Soviet economists have set about revealing (and have achieved certain success in it) the particular, sub-regional traits of capitalism is a material accomplishment of theirs over the last five years. Such types of capitalism for which the multinational corporations serve as an organic element of the internal structure (a significant contribution to the study of this type of capitalism has been made by specialists on Southeast Asia) have been subjected to scientific analysis. The type of capitalism where, as a consequence of the appropriation of enormous monopoly petroleum rents, parasitism is becoming a defining feature of practically the whole mass of the exploiter classes, is being studied using materials on the Arab Orient. Capitalism as the organic unity of two phases—early and "concluding," with the passing of "mature"—has been researched using the example of Turkey.

The results of this research and much more on the problems of capitalism in the contemporary Orient make it possible to move from the sub-regional (country) level to a general regional level of comprehensive study of the given problems, i.e. to reveal the general laws of the development of capitalism on the scale of the whole region under study by Oriental scholars. And this is one of the most important tasks that economists are called upon to resolve. The following circumstances are strengthening interest in this research. First, they are functions that were revealed by the debt crunch that was transformed into the leading instrument for the exploitation of the developing world at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. Second, the increased inequality in development leading to a further separation of the leaders of technological progress of the world capitalist system from a whole group of countries in the developing world and differentiation in that world.

The problems facing Oriental-studies economic science are complex. The efforts of scholars will have to re-oriented in coming years to a greater extent than they have been before, and attention will have to be devoted to socio-economic processes and changes in the structure of productive relations. A more profound and objective study of economic processes in the socialist countries of the Orient and the socialist-oriented countries is essential.

Researchers are often not objective enough in studying these issues. They either fall into an optimistic impatience when the latest vanguard party announces its adherence to Marxism-Leninism, or into a dark melancholy when the ruling segment of the country commits errors or even crimes. The factor of friendly or hostile relations toward the Soviet Union has had and does have

too great an influence on evaluations of the fate of socialist orientation. The socialist orientation of a number of countries (and not just parties) is clearly an objective reality. This orientation arises objectively out of the difficulties and deformations of bourgeois development at the periphery of the capitalist world. We must study the appearance of that trend, not replacing it with subjective factors that could impede this trend or further it.

The socialist development path of Mongolia, China, North Korea, Vietnam and other countries also requires more steadfast and objective study. It is understandable that this is associated to a considerable extent with devising a scientific model of socialism, which is currently essentially lacking. The restructuring being pursued in the USSR is touching on many theoretical issues, including issues of alternative paths to socialism and the optimal model that would ensure both dynamic growth and social justice. But to wait until someone devises a model of socialism for us that it only remains for us to use and employ toward the countries we are studying is not only impracticable, but perhaps even dishonest. Today it is impossible to create a theoretical model of socialism without a regard for the Chinese and Vietnamese (sometimes negative) experience. Some other things are moreover now becoming clear in this complex and acute question. It is clear, for example, that limitations on democracy for the sake of unity of actions of the vanguard forces is fraught with negative consequences and ultimately leads to a dead end. It is also obvious that the degree of the building of socialism is not measured by the ruler of nationalization and centralization of the means of production alone. Employing even these still exceedingly imperfect conclusions as a tool for researching the problems of the contemporary socialist-oriented countries, much could be understood about their true situation.

One important problem of economic research is the necessity of its greater orientation toward the future, to forecasting. A certain experience has been accumulated in this regard. Composite forecasts making it possible to devise practical recommendations for state organs are composed at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute with the help of computers using the method of processing time series. The forecast, however, can rely only on a knowledge of all the essential data, while the limited complement of Oriental-studies economists has not been able to study the question of the economic collaboration of the USSR and the CEMA countries with the developing countries, economic development in the socialist-oriented countries, demographic problems, problems of employment and exchange and distribution to the proper extent of late.

Oriental literary studies have formed an independent branch of academics both as part of the Oriental-studies complex and as a direction in general literary studies.

General concepts of the literary development of individual peoples of the Orient have been devised in recent years. An opportunity has appeared for creating major

summary works on the history of a number of Oriental literatures (the three-volume "History of Chinese Literature," the two-volume "History of Japanese Literature" and the monograph "The Literary Process in the Countries of the Orient. General Features"). Much work has been done to surmount the theoretical lag in Oriental literary studies. By virtue of a number of reasons, however (a shortage of qualified personnel, different amounts of provision with literature and sources, non-identical levels of development of preceding traditions), it has not been entirely possible to overcome irregularities in researching various literatures. The specialists in Japanese and Chinese literature have proven to be more prepared to resolve these tasks. Arabists have achieved certain successes. The quantity of highly skilled specialists in Turkish and Persian literature has declined. An Indian-studies collective able to prepare major summary works has not been able to be formed by virtue of the multitude of literatures in the Indian languages.

Problems in historical poetics, the interaction of traditions and modern times, educational activities in the Orient, the periodization of the literatures of Asia and Africa and the effects of Russian classical and Soviet literature on the literatures of the contemporary East have all been solved in monographs on various topics in literary studies. The study of the works of major writers continues (some 33 books have come out in the series "Writers and Scholars of the Orient," and a number of books outside the series have been published). Oriental scholars are taking part in the creation of the multivolume "History of World Literature," wherein their role in this publication is considerable, since the Oriental scholars were subjected less than their colleagues—specialists on contemporary Western and Soviet literatures—to the demands of the times and the influence of a priori frameworks during the period of stagnation.

Unrealistic tasks were frequently posed in the past that were not supported by material and personnel, and errors were made in planning. The department of literatures of the peoples of Asia of the Oriental Studies Institute was thus engaged for many years in studying the theme of the influence of socialist ideas on the literature of the Oriental countries, wherein it was expected that the result should confirm the supremacy of that influence over the influence of the bourgeois culture of the West. Our literary scholars, however, must also overcome stereotypes that were thrust upon them earlier and study the real situation without exaggerating the influence of progressive ideas and not diminishing the significance of negative processes. In some cases it is necessary to reconsider the evaluation of the works of individual major authors in analyzing their works where a displacement of focus was permitted for non-artistic motives.

The comprehensiveness of Oriental studies, of which we have talked about a great deal above, is especially important in studying the literatures. Cultural scholars, sociologists, historians and philosophers should take part in solving the major problems along with the literary

scholars. This comprehensive nature is expedient in developing the problems of "literature and religion" etc. Freer and bolder debate aimed at surmounting the prevailing stereotypes should be pursued in the course of restructuring. Closer contacts with educational institutions with the aim of restructuring the system of literary-studies education are taking on great significance. The more precise delimitation of the objects of research with republic Oriental-studies institutes is essential. It is hardly expedient to study the contemporary literature of the foreign Orient at institutes where there are no objective capabilities for this—academic personnel, subscriptions to journals and books or foreign trips. Particular attention at such institutes should probably be devoted to textual studies, the publication of texts from classical literatures, cataloging and describing existing manuscripts etc.

A number of significant pieces of research have been done in the last five years in the realm of Oriental language studies. The summary collective monograph "Formation and Development of the Contemporary Literary Languages of the Iranian Group" and "Research on Comparative Historical Grammar of the Mongol Languages" have been prepared. A series of grammars of the Oriental languages have been completed: a grammar of Tamil, a grammar of Pushtu, a morphology of Japanese and a syntax for Chinese among others. A grammatical description of Arab dialects and one of the dialects of Hindi—Braj—have been executed for the first time in Soviet Oriental studies. The Soviet-Vietnamese linguistic expedition to study the non-written languages of Vietnam has been continued. Much has yet to be done, however, in the realm of describing the structure of Oriental languages. Little is being done, for example, to prepare large grammars of the Oriental languages. Even in places where work on writing them is underway (Japanese and Vietnamese grammars), the deadlines for their completion are constantly being pushed back, and for many topical languages the prospects for the creation of such grammars are still lacking. Activity in the realm of phonology research has declined. Semantics remains a laggard in Oriental language studies as before. New methods of semantic analysis that have been developed in general language studies and successfully employed in describing Russian and the Western languages are almost not reflected in domestic Oriental studies.

A series of successes could also be noted in the area of dictionary work. Recall first and foremost the completion of the publication of the "Great Chinese-Russian Dictionary" with a volume of over 600 print sheets, which has no equal in world Chinese studies. The authors' collective of the dictionary has been awarded a USSR State Prize. Work is being completed on a Dari-Russian dictionary. A series of volumes of an explanatory dictionary of the Kazakh language and unique dictionaries of the Pamir languages have been prepared at the scientific-research institutes of the union republics. A ten-volume Tibetan-Russian-English dictionary by Yu.N. Rerikh has come off the presses, and it was

considerably supplemented before publication. The preparation of new dictionaries of the Oriental languages, however, is experiencing a certain crisis. The achievements of recent years are principally associated with the completion of work begun long ago. With the exception of a Vietnamese-Russian dictionary and the preparation of a second edition of the "Great Korean-Russian Dictionary," work is not currently underway on a single large dictionary of the languages of the foreign Orient, although the need for many such dictionaries is great. The question of the supplemented re-issue of large dictionaries published earlier has also come up (the preparations for a re-issue of the "Great Korean-Russian Dictionary" have already begun). The existing structure of Oriental-studies institutes does not permit the preparation of large dictionaries using the manpower of any single center, and it would be expedient to practice the creation of temporary collectives made up of the staff members of various institutions and make more active use of work under contract principles.

The work of socio-linguistic research continues to grow more active, especially at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute. The first handbook on language situations in the countries of the Orient has come out. The summary monograph "Language in the Ideology and Politics of the Countries of the Foreign Orient" and a description of the language situations in a number of countries have been prepared and published, and the socio-linguistic study of Pidgin and Creole languages has begun. The Far East Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences has completed a monograph on the problems of forming and developing a national language in China. The development of socio-linguistic research is being restrained by a shortage of skilled personnel in that field.

Historical, and especially comparative-history, research has expanded appreciably. The first dictionary of the ancient Khmer language (a volume of 150 print sheets) in world academics has been prepared in the realm of historical language studies, an etymological dictionary of the Kurdish language is being compiled, the cycle of research on the Vedic language continues and work is underway on historical grammars of the Chinese, Arabic and a number of other languages, as well as in Tangut studies. The study of the history of the Japanese, Tibetan and a number of other languages has in effect halted at the same time. A purposeful program of study of "deep comparative studies"—the ancient language ties of the peoples of the Old World—has been implemented over the last five years in the realm of comparative historical language studies. A massive count of the similarities and differences in the base lexicon of the principal language families is being conducted by computer, on the basis of which data is being obtained on the more ancient family ties of these families. The research is being conducted in collaboration with historians and archaeologists. Research is also being conducted on individual language families. Work is continuing on the creation of comparative-history phonetic works for individual branches of that family, Libyan (Berber) and West Chadian. A new

Altay reconstruction has been proposed and the place of the Japanese language in the Altay family revealed. Materials have been prepared for an etymological dictionary of the Sino-Tibetan languages. The relational ties of the Hurrian-Urartian languages have been uncovered. A group for comparative-history language studies has been created at the Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences for the further development of comparative research. Comparative-history research is also being conducted in Leningrad and Tbilisi. A basic two-volume work on the derivations of the Indo-Europeans prepared by T.V. Gamkrelidze and V.V. Ivanov has been awarded a Lenin Prize.

Whereas Soviet linguists occupy one of the leading positions in the world in the study of the genetic relations between the languages of the Orient, typological and linguistic research using Oriental material overall is a backward realm of our language studies. Notwithstanding the fact that the Oriental languages, distinguished by great diversity, provide extensive material for general language studies and are forcing a reconsideration of a series of traditional conceptions devised using European materials, their data are still insufficiently utilized in theoretical works, and many specialists are not taking contemporary linguistic theory into account to the proper extent for specific Oriental languages. The typology of Oriental languages is most active, for example, in Leningrad, where a monograph devoted to theoretical problems in general and Oriental philology, including issues of the phonology of the so-called syllabic languages, and collective research on quantitative typology of the Oriental languages have come out in recent years. A group for the theoretical study of languages at the Leningrad Division of the Language Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences is continuing the work begun over two decades ago on a series of collective monographs on typology in which Oriental materials are utilized extensively. Monographs on typological problems of the morphology of isolated languages and collective works on the typology of word order and parts of speech have been prepared at the Oriental Studies Institute. Research of this order, however, should be more intensive. There is also little typological-habitat research, and only works on the Indic and Thai languages, as well as a series of works by Armenian Oriental scholars, can be noted.

Work is underway on researching specific national linguistic traditions in the Oriental countries, especially the Arab countries, as well as their comparison. It is being proposed to make this sort of research more active. Works have also been prepared on the history of domestic Oriental language studies, especially Turkic and Japanese studies. A biography of the major Soviet linguistic theoretician and Oriental scholar Ye.D. Polivanov has come out.

Work is being conducted on a larger scale than before on machine linguistics and the computerization of linguistic

research. A mock-up of a system for automatic Japanese-Russian translation has been developed, and work continues to develop the foundations of linguistic and software support for the first phase of an experimental version of that system. Computers are being incorporated at a number of Oriental-studies centers and are being used, in particular, to compile dictionaries and for comparative-history research. These works are being held back by the low level of the material base.

The preparation and publication of textbooks and teaching materials for the Oriental languages is continuing at the ISAA [Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa] of Moscow State University, MGIMO [Moscow State Institute of International Relations], Leningrad State University and the universities of Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, Tashkent, Dushanbe, Vladivostok and other cities. The publication of about 40 textbooks and handbooks is proposed for the 1986-90 period. Standard texts are as yet lacking, however, for a number of languages. Questions of technique in the instruction of Oriental languages are still poorly developed, and the quantity of literature on this issue is very small. The instruction of a number of languages, and first and foremost Japanese, is in need of a radical restructuring in connection with changes in practical requirements.

The development of Oriental-language studies in the USSR is running up against a number of difficulties, and first and foremost personnel. For many languages, including such important ones as Chinese, Korean, Mongolian and the languages of Iran and Afghanistan, there is almost no influx of young specialists. A persistent tendency toward reductions in the number of linguists at the Oriental-studies scientific-research institutions can be discerned.

The Oriental Studies Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences will continue its research in the realm of history and philology. It is the lead institute in particular for one of the programs being developed by the Division of History of the USSR Academy of Sciences—the "Historical Paths of Development of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America."¹ This program has been composed by a group of leading historians from the academic institutes of Oriental studies, the Far East, Africa and Latin America. We have appealed to the leadership of the institutes of Oriental studies of the union republics with a request to express their opinions on the program and the forms of their participation in its realization, but not all have responded. We ask all Oriental scholars, wherever they may work, to consider the question of what concrete contribution they could make to the implementation of this program. The program is oriented toward the development of new directions in research and requires that all who wish to participate in it restructure their own approaches to research. This is required by the principal theoretical problem—"the general and specific in the development of the countries of the region"—but first and foremost by

the all-round topic "Man in the History of Non-European Societies." Economists, historians, literary scholars, linguists and publishers of texts could all further the opening up of this topic, but each of them should face the new issues arising out of this task.

It is necessary to be concerned with the training of personnel in order to fulfill this program and be at the level of the tasks advanced by restructuring altogether. The processes of aging and reductions in the number of specialists in the classical realms of Oriental studies are still continuing. This process cannot be halted if we are not engaged in earnest with questions of Oriental-studies education. The ISAA of Moscow State University and the Oriental-studies departments of the Central Asian and Caucasian universities are not working satisfactorily from the point of view of the training of academic personnel. They do not give the students the proper theoretical preparation at a sufficiently high level of practical instruction, which does not allow the graduates to be engaged in either languages, history or economics professionally. All teaching is oriented toward the training of practical workers rather than young scholars. The small opportunities for hiring graduates students that the Oriental Studies Institute has are now used for the hiring of the graduate of the history, economics and other departments of Moscow State University and the like. The graduates of ISAA are less and less competitive with them in training. I would like to hope that the restructuring of the higher schools that is being implemented today will also touch on issues of improving university education, including Oriental studies. The All-Union Association of Oriental Scholars will continue to devote attention to this issue.

It is naturally difficult to exhaust the topic of restructuring in Oriental studies within the framework of this article. Ever newer theoretical issues arise, and the development of events both in our country and in the Orient requires a more and more decisive split with outmoded dogmas along with new answers to questions that arise. One thing is clear: the debate both in oral form and in the pages of books and journals on the theoretical issues of the worldwide historical process in all of its aspects—political, socio-economic, cultural—as well as on issues of the role of Oriental studies in the intellectual development of the Soviet people should be continued.

Footnotes

1. NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1988, No 2, pp 94-103.

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Roundtable: Modern Capitalism and the Developing World

18070167d Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 123-141

[Part I of discussion under the rubric "Roundtable": "Contemporary Capitalism and the Developing World: Nature and Prospects for Mutual Relations"]

[Text] The development of the concepts of the new political thinking, on the one hand, and their realization and the affirmation of a non-nuclear and non-violent world, on the other, depend on the expansion of a number of world processes, the nature and prospects of which have been far from entirely revealed as yet. Some of the key questions associated with this were posed in the speech of M.S. Gorbachev at a ceremonial session at the Kremlin on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of Great October on 2 Nov 87:

- will imperialism, under pressure of the necessity to survive and in the interests of surviving, be able to refrain from the use of force in international relations;
- can the capitalist economy manage without military production;
- will imperialism be able to refrain from the neocolonial exploitation of the developing countries.

The task of social scientists is to begin the search for answers to those questions at the theoretical level.

Although the three questions are inwardly connected, the specific nature of the journal NARODY AZII I AFRIKI presumes a concentration of attention first of all on the third one. The basic development of the problem will clearly require a certain amount of time. The journal's editors have thus decided at this stage to conduct a correspondence roundtable, a sort of "cerebral attack," that does not entail the rigid framework of hardened stereotypes. As opposed to the approaches that predominated earlier, when the point of departure of the majority of the theoretical and ideological constructs was the notion of the inevitability of the exploitation of the peoples of the developing world by imperialism, this time it was proposed to discuss the possibility of contemporary (and continuing to change) capitalism managing without such exploitation.

Such customary categories as "imperialism," "neo-colonialism," "exploitation" and "non-equivalent exchange" will naturally require elaboration and, perhaps, even a certain degree of re-interpretation in the course of the discussion, to which the participants will probably contribute various substance. But the debate should not be reduced to a discussion of definitions; the definition of concepts is just a point of departure for substantive discussion. The question of how profound a modification the essence of the socio-economic order which it is accepted to call imperialism in Marxist literature can be subjected to,

and what "contribution" the exploitation of the developing countries makes to their backwardness and poverty—able to become the source of global conflict—should evidently be at the center of that discussion.

This general problem could be made concrete in the following manner:

- the Marxian formula of expanded capitalist reproduction assumes the possibility of the self-augmentation of capitalism on its own inherent basis without usurping the surplus product of the non-capitalist environment. How applicable is this formula to the contemporary world capitalist economy?
- the nature of the economic relations between the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy. How is the "element of exploitation" of those relations manifested? Is the receipt of profits in the economic relations among countries of a one-way nature? What is the specific nature of the exploitation of the periphery by the centers compared to the "conventional" relations of capitalist exploitation? What is the economic substance of so-called "neo-colonial exploitation": surplus product from the difference in national levels of labor productivity? Superprofits from the manipulation of prices on the part of monopolies? Something else?
- what portion of world surplus product could be returned (moved) to the developing countries, in what form and with the aid of what mechanisms? What contribution to this process could be made by the purposeful steps of the international community? How realistic are the concepts of the NIEO [new international economic order], what is the political-economic substance of economic security etc.?
- what can and should be done in the developing countries themselves to alter the nature of the relations that have taken shape between them and the centers of the system and, in particular, for the efficient utilization of the funds received for the purpose of limiting (or curtailing) the outflow of resources? What are the essential conditions and mechanisms for this?
- what could be the role of socialism and the world socialist system in the processes under consideration, and how can the influence of that role on the reproductive processes and economic relations in the worldwide economy, the creation of a worldwide division of labor with equal rights and the affirmation of equivalent exchange be made stronger?

Such are the basic questions on which the journal's editors proposed that the participants in the discussion speak out.

Discussion

N.A. Simoniya (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO [Institute of World Economics and International Relations]): Militarism and the exploitation of other peoples are conditioned by the nature of capitalism and imperialism, but are not system-forming elements of them. The conditions that make the subordination and exploitation of other peoples disadvantageous and dangerous have already begun to form. A unilateral focus on "non-equivalent exploitation" engenders a psychology of neglect toward the problems of domestic economic construction and unjustified hopes for the resolution of issues using methods of political struggle.

Before answering the questions posed, it is important to specify the following: are there such aspects as the application of military force and militarism in general, as well as the exploitation of other peoples, that are indigenous traits of capitalism and imperialism as its last stage, or are they derivative traits conditioned by the nature of this exploitative formation but not system-forming elements of it?

I am inclined toward the second answer. After all, even before the appearance of capitalism, history knew the seizures of the territory of others, militarism and the exploitation of other peoples. There are at the same time examples of capitalist countries that have achieved high levels of development without militarism and colonies. In recent decades, we have moreover been witness to a significant transformation of the five principal traits of imperialism as formulated at one time by V.I. Lenin.¹ This especially concerns those of them that are connected with the international aspects of the activity of capital. The nature of the extraction of capital and the methods of activity of the international monopolies have been visibly altered and, finally, such a trait as the territorial division of land by the largest capitalist powers and the colonial policy of the monopoly possession of the territory of others has faded away altogether.

It seems no one would deny that the capitalists know how to count and protect their advantage in principle. Consequently, if conditions arise that make militarism and the direct exploitation of other peoples not only disadvantageous from the point of view of the fundamental interests of the world capitalist system, but even dangerous to its existence, it is logical to suppose (although all state figures are not always guided by common logic) that capitalism will be forced to reject those practices and those stereotypes that lead it to the abyss. Do such conditions exist today on an international plane? Not yet, but I am an optimist and assume that they have already begun to take shape. It seems that some of the important trends of this sort are gaining force:

1. World society itself has been transformed. It has become immeasurably diverse. Processes of the transformation of the countries of the former colonial periphery from the objects into the subjects of international relations are culminating.

2. The mutual connection and mutual dependence of all states of the world regardless of differences in their political and social systems are growing stronger.

3. The restructuring in the USSR and the resurrection of the genuine essence of socialism along with the new thinking in the sphere of foreign policy are having an effect on the ruling circles in the developed capitalist countries.

4. The up-to-now unforeseen expansion of contacts, normal human interchange and growth in the mutual understanding among people living in different countries are facilitating the erosion of outdated stereotypes and the "face of the enemy," thereby undermining the mass foundation for militarism, expansionism and great-power globalism.

Scholars in both the West and the capitalist countries have long proven that a normal, peaceful economy for the developed capitalist countries can not only be managed without militarization, but even gains from it, and that it is thus necessary to delineated clearly the interests of the military-industrial complex from the interests of the national economy and society overall. The political palette in the Western countries is also multi-colored as well. The spectrum of political positions from the extreme right and most reactionary forces to left-wing ones is quite broad. Pacifist, "ecological" and other democratic forces comprise an enormous reserve in the fight against the arms race and for peaceful co-existence. The undoubted primacy that is being objectively obtained in our time by general human elements over class interests is strengthening the positions of all people who stand on the ground of common sense, and they are an absolute majority.

The factors enumerated above, along with some others, are clipping the wings of the aspiration of imperialism to monopoly in international economic, political and cultural relations. Imperialism will be forced to restrict its exploitative appetites to the extent that these factors grow stronger. The prospects for neo-colonialism, it seems to me, should be considered in this context.

A somewhat simplistic depiction of neo-colonialism as an actual continuation of colonialism has predominated here for many years. There is truth in this approach, but far from all of the truth. The concept of "dependent capitalism," as well as a modification of it—the idea of the "vicious circle of dependence," when any socio-economic progress in this or that group of liberated countries was considered just as a transition from one level of dependence to another—also arose on the basis of this truncated truth. The dialectics of the actual historical process were ignored therein. The point is that neo-colonialism is not simply a continuation of colonialism, but a withering away of it under conditions of the victory of national-liberation revolutions and affirmation of the state sovereignty of the liberated countries. This is an entire phase of historical development, which

has already lasted and will continue to last for many decades, in the course of which the "catch-up model" of development (before the accomplishment of the goal of equal integration into the world economy) will be realized. The achievement of economic independence with simultaneous integration within the framework of the international division of labor will also signify the end of neo-colonialism. The "catch-up model" should not be understood herein as a copying of paths of social development already known to history. The developing countries otherwise will not really be able to catch the developed states. The point is that the practical achievement of this aim is possible only where a specific model for the synthesis of the contemporary (the best international experience) and the traditional (the positive aspects of the historical legacy) can be found.

It is also essential to take into account the fact that the evolution of the developing countries along the path of capitalism is subordinate to the same general laws of non-systematic development. This signifies that individual countries and groups of countries will achieve economic independence at different times and in different ways from each other, and not all together or all according to one pattern. A number of countries will most probably be able to enter the circle of the great powers in the near-term historical future, others will gradually supplement the group of developed states, prolonged stagnation possibly awaits others and the like.

I am not inclined to dramatize the debt problem too much. The chief debtors are just those countries that tried to make a spurt and were "punished" by their old "class partners" for insufficient experience. But as they say, "behind every fallen one are two more." Brazil, Mexico, Venezuela and other debtor countries will hardly forget the lesson they have learned. Recall also that the world history of the appearance, emergence and development of capitalism has never been smooth, it is full of crises (structural and cyclical), stagnation, bankruptcies, state and private indebtedness, suffering, upheavals and revolutions.

I would also like to touch on the question of "non-equivalent exchange" and "exploitation." K. Marx proved scientifically that exploitation can accommodate and be combined with equivalent exchange. Non-equivalent exchange exists in those cases where a monopoly is realized by one of the exchanging parties, i.e. when non-economic factors become part of the matter. This was widely practiced and continues to be practiced in many instances in the activity of the capitalist monopolies and multinational corporations (MNC). In that case it would be more correct to speak of rudimentary deception and plundering rather than exploitation. There is at the same time equivalent exchange to the extent that it is free of monopolistic intervention, to the extent that the value of goods is determined by socially essential labor. Equivalence of exchange in international trade, after all, is based on the dimensions of the socially essential labor as determined according to the average conditions of

production, but worldwide ones and not those within the country. An understanding of this is very important from more than an academic point of view alone. When a unilateral and not always justified accent is placed on "non-equivalent exchange" and "neo-colonial exploitation" in the fight for socio-economic progress, a distinctive psychology of neglect of the problems of internal economic construction, a psychology of passive waiting for "miraculous changes" after the victory over the foreign enemy using methods of political struggle, is engendered thereby. Activeness in the chief sphere—the national economy, only on the path of development of which is the achievement of genuine economic independence possible—is weakened as a result.

V.L. Sheynis (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO): Imperialism in the meaning it was understood at the beginning of the century is not a defining characteristic of capitalism at the end of the 20th century. The developed subsystem of the world capitalist economy functions through primarily internal reserves. Economic and social backwardness can scarcely be overcome with the aid of political or other types of pressure on the economy of the West. A consistent policy of re-organization of their own economic and social structures by the developing countries is essential.

A transition to the positions of the new political and academic thinking requires a decisive reconsideration of many outmoded notions, including a re-interpretation of a series of key concepts that we rely on when discussing the problems of the Third World. Among these concepts are "imperialism," "neo-colonialism" and "exploitation."

There is no doubt that the problem of the backwardness of the developing nations is of a global and explosive nature, that the situation of many of these countries is a tragic one, that the purposeful efforts of the whole world community are required to correct the existing situation. The sharply confrontational approach explaining the backwardness of the Third World exclusively by exploitation and its lack of equal rights in international relations through some ill will, be it the strategy of the MNCs, international financial institutions, foreign governments or the like, however, is in need of review.

The equation of the concepts of "contemporary capitalism" and "imperialism" is a tribute to stereotypes. Although a trend toward external expansion is one of the characteristic features of the economic order of capitalism, and while imperial ambitions are typical of some of the political acts of a number (albeit not all) of the capitalist states, "imperialism" in the sense it was understood in Marxist literature at the beginning of the century (and as it is treated to this day in the works of imitators) is in no way a defining feature of capitalism at the end of the 20th century. The socio-economic order in the West was re-interpreted in the course of a number of debates as "imperialism without colonies" under the pressure of the actual events of the 1960s. The time has come to take the next step.

The territorial partitioning of the world has receded into the past. Other serious changes have occurred as well. That which is understood by economic division today is not the unilateral and undivided power of the subject of international economic relations over their objects, moreover rife with outbursts of violent partitioning and sharp international conflicts and wars, but rather a complex aggregate of relations of mutual dependence in the world economy with a varying and changing degree of asymmetry. The very growth in mutual dependence herein is a powerful factor opposing the periodic sharpening of conflicts. Even more material is the fact that in our times (how matters stood in the past is subject to further study), the developed subsystem of the world capitalist economy functions and evolves primarily through internal reserves revealed within it, and just to a small extent through external resources and exploitation, i.e. the uncompensated alienation of unpaid labor of the poorly developed countries.

Attempts are occasionally repeated in Soviet and foreign literature to calculate in value terms the dimensions of exploitation in the form of the "losses" of the developing countries from international business exchange. Insofar as the volumes of gross output and the scale of foreign economic operations are growing, the figures for the "losses" in such calculations are increasing right along with them: today they are being valued in the impressive hundreds of billions of dollars. These valuations, in my opinion, cannot be deemed correct in principle, since their authors juxtapose the proportions that form objectively in the world markets for goods, services, capital etc. with arbitrary valuations, relying either on past pricing proportions transferred to the present day, which reflect patterns of production and consumption that have become outmoded, or contrived ideal models. The attempts to represent non-equivalent exchange not as individual violations of the law of value that arise occasionally and will arise in the practice of international trade exchange, but rather as a general law of relations between the two groups of countries in the world capitalist economy does not look convincing. International trade is accomplished on the basis of world values, not national ones, and to extract non-equivalence from their lack of coincidence, the more so to calculate the "losses" from non-equivalent exchange, in my opinion, cannot be done.²

Moreover, even if we take the maximum values for the irrevocable flow of resources from the developing countries to the developed capitalist countries, even in that case the external "infusions" into the economy of the developing states remain many orders of magnitude less than the output and income created in the developed economy itself, in which the factors of scientific and technical revolution are more and more palpable. This was convincingly shown as early as by Ye.S. Varga, who criticized the concept of the "worker aristocracy" supposedly "feeding" off the colonial super-profits.³ The groundlessness of notions that the high standard of living in the countries of the North or that these or those line

items in their budget spending are supported to a marked extent through the exploitation of the South becomes obvious even with a comparison of the highest values of "losses" of the developing countries (the calculations of N. Volkov, for example) with gross output, or the wage fund and other personal income with the budgets of the developed capitalist countries.

The balance of forces in contemporary international economic relations overall, of course, takes shape in favor of the developed capitalist countries rather than the developing countries. Food, trade, financial and other ties in which all of their participants have a vested interest, albeit for different reasons, are in principle more essential to the developing countries than to the developed capitalist countries. These or those disruptions, the more so a break in ties, will hit the weaker partners harder. A developed capitalist state, disposing of considerably more freedom of economic maneuver, will temporarily lose some additional advantages and secondary sources of income in these instances, while a developing country will encounter the real threat of economic collapse.

But that is not all. If we are to be consistent in recognizing the interconnected nature of the contemporary world, it is essential to adopt a more considered view of the economic foundation of this interconnection: it is not only the international division of labor, but also institutionalized flows of material and financial resources and information (irreducible to the movements of capital but included in them) as well.

We should, however, proceed further and ask the question of whether it is possible today, in light of the problems faced by socialist theory and the worldwide economy, to consider such categories as "profit," "business income," "loan interest," "rent" etc. only as converted forms of surplus value, the materialized embodiment of capitalist exploitation. After all, overall general laws for developed commodity production exist, the bounds of which clearly need not be crossed even in the distant future. These general laws include the objective necessity of the economic fragmentation of the subjects of the economic process and, consequently, the lack of alternatives and "justice" of payments for resources offered to each other (currency, equipment, technology, "know-how" etc.) according to valuations that take shape in the market and are subject to willful correction only within certain limits.

The deepest foundation for the unequal status of the majority of the developing countries, the asymmetry of mutual dependence in relations with the developed capitalist countries and the elements of exploitation in those relations, is the economic and social backwardness of those countries. Positions in the world capitalist market are determined by the relative strength of its participants. We must renounce the illusion that the prevailing situation can be altered chiefly through mobilizing political factors, sharpening the opposition of the developing countries to

the centers of the world capitalist economy and counting primarily on the different associations and institutions uniting the countries of the South. Strong pressure on the centers of decision-making and economics of the West has its limits, and a sort of "counter-monopoly" uniting the political force of the developing countries with their control over this or that important resource reveals its weakness and negative side effects quite rapidly. First the rise of hopes on the "oil weapon," and then the just-as-fast drop in them, testify eloquently to this.

The confrontational approach to relations between North and South in the world capitalist economy is also unsuitable because these relations cannot be unequivocally reduced to neo-colonialism and resistance to it. Both the North and the South are economically and socially multi-layered; the equation of the former exclusively with imperialism and the latter with the national-liberation movement is becoming more and more artificial. The forces that form the policies of the North in relation to the South are economically and socially heterogeneous, their interests are contradictory and the balance of those forces is changing constantly. There are influential social groups and segments in the North with a vested interest in raising the level of economic development of the South, the solution of the most urgent social problems there and a reduction in the potential for conflict. Public opinion does exist that condemns the mercenary and aggressive actions of the reactionary and truly imperialist circles and, at the same time, the irresponsibility and adventurism of a number of regimes in the South, the ineffectiveness of the economic policies pursued by them and the parasitical outgrowths on the developing economy, repressions and violations of civil rights.

The movement of a certain portion of world surplus product from the developed capitalist countries to the developing countries in these or those forms is one means of solving the global problem of backwardness. This movement could be reliable and stable on the path of a persistent and patient search for consensus, coincidence and mutual coordination of the interests of the principal partners, rather than on the basis of increasing confrontation. The creation of economic and social mechanisms of a national nature that express the common interests of mankind, even though the path to them is thorny and long, is clearly becoming the order of the day.

The main thing that can and should be done to weaken (and in some Third World countries, to surmount) backwardness and to reliably improve the positions of those countries in the world economy for the long term with any development of events is a consistent policy of re-organizing the intrinsic economic and social structures there. No small amount of both positive and negative experience has been accumulated over past decades. It is important to utilize it, and not to be engaged in the "demonization" of external forces for propaganda purposes, which largely impedes the constructive solution of truly urgent problems.

Yu.V. Shishkov (USSR Academy of Sciences IMEMO): State-monopoly capitalism can halt neo-colonial exploitation only in conjunction with the disappearance of its object—the poorly developed periphery. The gap in the levels of development of the "center" and the "periphery" in the world capitalist economy has begun to be reduced since the middle of the 20th century, and the "center" itself moreover has more and more of a vested interest in that.

In order for imperialism or, more precisely, the countries with state-monopoly capitalism to "reject" neo-colonial exploitation under the conditions of the contemporary world capitalist economy, they should first reject their basic social principles and alter their socio-economic nature, i.e. become non-exploiting societies. The unreality of this metamorphosis in the near future is obvious.

Does this mean that today's methods of neo-colonialism and it itself as such will live on to the extent that capitalism survives? From my point of view, the neo-colonial exploitation of the developing periphery of the world capitalist economy by the industrially developed capitalist countries could deplete itself much sooner than capitalism, in a process of dialectical self-negation, will grow into a society of a fundamentally new and non-exploitative nature. But the qualitative transformations of the "periphery" that are already underway and will ultimately lead to the appearance of a world economy without a periphery in the sense that it has existed over the span of the last 300-400 years must be completed.

State-monopoly capitalism, in other words, can cease to be neo-colonial exploitation just as the result of the disappearance of the object of such exploitation. Isn't that utopia? Is a world capitalist economy possible without a backward periphery? In order to answer these questions, we cast a retrospective glance toward the prior history of civilization. All of the economic history of civilization is the history of an ascent from primitive methods of economic operation toward more and more complex but at the same time more efficient ones that provide a greater return per unit of effort (or expenditure). Obeying the law of the economy of time, mankind, in the course of an endless series of trial and error, teaches itself and improves its methods of economic operation. This can be traced clearly beginning from the first exploitative societies to modern times. From the point of view of relations between labor and capital, for example, bourgeois society has covered enormous ground, from the inhumane exploitation of imported slaves and the local proletariat under conditions of 12-15-hour workdays to the 40-hour work week, paid vacations, a decent pension and other social security for hired workers, in its searches for inherent economic and

long-term socio-political gain from the 17th century to our times. And these changes, objectively advantageous for capital made wiser by experience, are still far from completed.

Now about the international background against which all of this evolution is taking place. Technical, economic and cultural progress in various regions of the world, by virtue of different historical, geographical and other reasons, has thus far transpired in an extremely unsystematic fashion. Before the second half of the 20th century, the extent of mutual technological, economic, informational etc. dependence of the peoples of the world was not so close as it is today. There was constantly a multi-staged nature of the levels of development of productive forces as a result. By the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, when machinery production proved to be in one zone and manual labor and primitive implements in the other, the gap between the upper and lower "stories" of civilization reached its greatest magnitude. These differing levels have always served as the material precondition for the exploitation of the less developed nations by the more developed. And the greater the gap between the "stories" of civilization, the more primitive the forms and methods of exploitation of the "lower" stories.

It can be asserted with a certain degree of confidence, however, that a turning point has ensued since the middle of the 20th century in the multi-century trend of profound schism between the "center" and the "periphery" of the world capitalist economy in favor of a reduction in that schism. The calculations of the well-known Swiss specialist on historical statistics, Paul Bairoch, give the following picture of the average annual increase (in percent) of the per-capita gross national product in the Third World⁴:

%	
1900-1913	—0.7
1913-1928	—0.1
1928-1938	—0.4
1938-1950	—0.1
1950-1960	—2.3
1960-1970	—2.1
1970-1977	—2.1
1977-1985	—2.25 ⁵

A turning point ensues in the 1950s, as we see, and this trend continues to develop in subsequent decades, wherein the "periphery" appreciably overtakes the "center" in the pace of its economic development in general (in the face of all the particulars) (see table).

Ratio of Economic Growth Rates of Developing and Capitalist Countries (Rate of Capitalist Countries = 1) %

Sectors and branches of the economy	1956-1985	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	1971-1975	1976-1980	1981-1985
GNP overall	1.43	1.32	1.13	1.12	1.65	1.77	1.59
Industry overall	1.57	1.93	1.60	1.44	1.78	1.57	1.10
Including:							
—extraction	4.54	7.82	8.45	6.18	4.63	1.03	-0.88
—processing	1.82	1.57	1.40	1.06	1.87	2.12	3.89
—machine building and metalworking	2.05	2.58	1.95	1.23	2.80	2.10	1.67

Source: B.M. Bolotin, V.L. Sheynis. *Op. cit.*, pp 65-70.

This development is not smooth, of course, especially in the 1980s. But the difficulties experienced by the young countries in connection with the decline in world demand for many raw materials, the burden of high indebtedness and the like should not be exaggerated, the more so considered some kind of dead end to the economic development of the Third World countries. On a historical plane this is just a hitch, an episode on the path of their emergence from many centuries of stagnant existence. Many are writing today, for example, about a drop in the economic growth rate and decline in the standard of living in Latin America and especially in Africa. But recall that the standard of living in Western Europe in 1950 was no higher than in the majority of the Latin American countries in 1980, and that the production of items of the machining industry per capita in Japan in 1956-60 was an average of 200 dollars (in prices and exchange rates for 1975), while in Latin America in 1981-85, that indicator was 290 dollars.⁶

And although there still remains a group of "least developed countries," those Asian, Latin American and some African countries that have in the last three or four decades completed a mighty spurt forward surpass all of the industrially developed countries of the "center" of the world capitalist economy in population (800 million).

The turnaround in the development of the "periphery" has been conditioned by both objective and subjective factors. The former include the energetic spread of money-exchange relations to the entire economic expanse of the Third World and the displacement of the remnants of a subsistence economy there, the creation of conditions for the involvement of an ever greater number of enterprises in the developing countries in the international division of labor thereby with a regard for the comparative costs of production, which provides incentives to raise the aggregate efficiency of the peripheral economies, the rapid development of the MNCs, which is inevitably accompanied by the accelerated diffusion of new equipment, technology, technical culture of production, experience in organizing it and developing a suitable infrastructure in the peripheral zones, and the restructuring of the sector structure of the "center" that began in the middle of the 1970s, having as a consequence the displacement of labor-, power- and materials-intensive sectors, as well as dangerous types of

production, to the periphery, which, with all of the caveats, has undoubtedly accelerated the process of industrialization of the Third World.

The collapse of colonialism in the 1950s and 1960s, which made possible the transformation of the popular masses into an active motive force of economic progress, was an important subjective factor in the accelerated transformation of the "periphery." Another major subjective factor is the economic strategy of the managing subjects of the center itself, both the MNCs and the bourgeois states. Under the current conditions of transition to the new technological mode of production in the name of the further self-augmentation of their own productive and loan capital, they have a vested interest in tilling that economic virgin land that has until now remained to a considerable extent the "periphery" of the world capitalist economy in the realm of intensive technologies. The example of some countries that have dashed ahead rapidly (South Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Brazil among others) testifies to the fact that the industrially developed countries of the "center" that are interacting with them are all in all receiving much more comparable economic advantages than from interaction with economically backward countries.

The world capitalist economy, under the influence of the enumerated objective and subjective factors, has entered a transitional period from the stagnant deep schism between its "center" and "periphery" toward a gradually accelerating reduction in the differentiation of the levels of technical, economic and cultural development. The backward regions, as in the national economies of the industrially developed countries, are causing ever greater discomforts for the normal functioning of national economies and are forcing them to take special steps in the interest of leveling the territorial economic disproportions and the presence of a "periphery" to the world capitalist economy, lagging the benefits of it that it offered long ago to the "center" and becoming more and more of a burden to the "center" itself and the whole world community.

In the face of all the contradictions, time deviations and even crises fraught with a worsening of international political relations, the process of leveling the economic landscape of the world capitalist economy will develop at

a faster and faster pace. And this narrows opportunities for the neo-colonial exploitation of the "periphery" even in the civilized forms that are being employed at the end of the 20th century. It seems that the object of such exploitation will be removed in the course of the self-development of the world capitalist economy long before it is transformed, in the process of the own development, into a qualitatively new state—into a third macro-economic formation. Today, of course, that is still quite far off.

A.Ye. Granovskiy (USSR Academy of Sciences IV [Oriental Studies Institute]): Neo-colonial exploitation is part of capitalist exploitation, and its core is equivalent relations. Neo-colonial exploitation plays a secondary role in the process of accumulating capital in the developed capitalist countries, but it is difficult to imagine the reasons that would impel imperialism to reject it.

The posing of the question of whether imperialism can reject neo-colonial exploitation of the developing countries engenders another: why would imperialism reject such exploitation? It would be useful to elaborate on the substance of the category of "neo-colonial exploitation" beforehand in this regard.

In Marxist political economy, capitalist exploitation is understood to mean the self-augmentation of capital through the production of surplus value and/or the redistribution of other forms of product under neo-colonialism (by analogy with its predecessor, colonialism)—the whole system of relations between the centers and the periphery of the world capitalist economy after the fall of the colonial system. Neo-colonial exploitation thus typifies that portion of the self-augmentation of the capital of the developed capitalist countries that overtly or covertly mediates economic ties with the developing countries.

Under the influence of our own propaganda cliches and romantic criticism of imperialism in the developing countries, these trite definitions have been subjected to marked deformation in domestic literature. Neo-colonial exploitation has been transformed from a political-economic category into a swear word and has come to be equated with "plundering," "dictate," "violence," "non-equivalent exchange" and the like. Its content has thereby been narrowed to wanton non-equivalent monopolistic methods, and a return to the understanding of this category by pre-Marxian economists, to whom exploitation seemed to be the result either of swindling or violence, has occurred. One of the authors of the concept of "Oriental capitalism" has even asserted that if we digress from the wanton monopolistic relations of the world capitalist economy, the very foundation of the exploitation of the developing countries by imperialism would disappear.

Monopolistic practices, direct dictate and violence naturally play an important role in neo-colonial exploitation, as well as in contemporary capitalist exploitation

overall. The discovery of their sphere of operation, however, requires careful substantiation, since reproductive shifts that are in reality conditioned by changes in the conditions of production and the formation of international value are frequently presented as the result of wanton monopolistic methods. The best example of that is the explanation of the worsening conditions of trade in many raw materials with references to non-equivalent exchange, wherein both the dynamics of materials-intensiveness in the developed capitalist countries and the replacement of natural raw materials with synthetic ones are ignored.

Equivalent relations based on the laws of capitalist commodity production and modified to this or that extent by extra-value regulators, to my mind, are the core of neo-colonial exploitation, as well as capitalist exploitation overall. I will mention just some of the equivalent-value methods of exploiting the developing countries.

1. A much greater share of individual (national) value is involved in redistribution in the process of international exchange by virtue of the much larger gap in labor productivity between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries, and correspondingly in individual value, than among enterprises in the developed capitalist countries themselves. In this case, "the richer country exploits the poorer even when the latter gains from the exchange."⁷

2. The clash of stage-differing levels of commodity production in the world market serves as a means of redistribution of value. First of all, surplus value is redistributed from non-monopolized producers to monopolized ones. Since the level of monopolization of world markets is lower than national ones, such "non-equivalent exchange" is of a lesser scale in international trade than within the countries of developed capitalism. Second, a transfusion of surplus value in favor of the enterprises of the developed capitalist countries possessing a higher organic structure of capital is observed to the limited extent to which an international price of production takes shape. Third, the recouping of the costs of production plus an average profit or, for the simple commodity producer, costs alone, is a minimal condition for continuing production for the capitalist. When the essential product of the latter, despite the lesser productivity of labor, remains less than the value per unit output newly created by the hired capitalist worker, the attraction of small producers in the developing countries into international trade creates the preconditions for the diversion of international value downward from the capitalist socially essential expenditures.

3. The pattern of world social requirements and international value correspondingly is set by reproductive proportions in the developed capitalist countries that are at a different stage of development than the developing countries. The structural restructuring at the centers of the world capitalist economy strengthens the disjointedness of these two economic systems, worsens the trading

conditions for the developing countries and increases the losses of their national value in international exchange. A trend toward stabilization or improvement of the trading conditions in the stages where the developing countries pull themselves toward the structural shifts that have already occurred in the developed capitalist countries arises.

4. Insofar as it is namely the developed capitalist countries that are the principal consumers of the items of export specialization of the developing countries, import protectionism in the West diverts the international value of those commodities downward. Protectionism in the developing countries has practically no effect on the international value of the output of the developed capitalist countries, which are principally traded among the centers of the world capitalist economy themselves. The subsidizing of local production of those goods for which the developing countries possess potential comparative advantages (grain, sugar etc.) in the developed capitalist countries diverts world prices for them far below the national value of those goods in the developed capitalist countries.

5. The redistribution of value from the developing countries facilitates a mismatch between changes in the exchange rates of national currencies and the correlation of the real purchasing power of the currencies.

6. The limited mobility of capital as manifested in the enormous gap in the organic structure of capital in the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries, and the even more limited mobility of the manpower as expressed, in particular, in its somewhat lesser price in the developing countries, provides a higher return for foreign capital investment on the periphery of the world capitalist economy.

7. The monopoly of the West in modern technology, only partly limited by the technical assistance of the socialist countries and the development of scientific-research and experimental-design work within the developing countries, is becoming a more and more important condition of the alienation of the product of the periphery. The substance of the "monopoly," however, looks somewhat different to me than to the advocates of the concept of "Oriental capitalism." The issue is not so much the monopoly of a specific company in a given technology (although this factor is extremely important) as it is the monopoly of the core of the world capitalist economy taken as a whole in the whole body of technical achievements and methods of developing them. The developing countries are free to choose among alternative technologies in the West, but they cannot manage without one of them.

8. The sale of the output of the centers of the world capitalist economy to the periphery also signifies the sale of the surplus value embodied in it. The use of the developing countries as a sales market makes it possible to provide for the smoother renewal of output in the

developed capitalist countries through deliveries of goods to the developing world that are one or two steps behind the leading achievements and are beginning to lose Western consumers.

9. The withdrawal of the loan capital to the developing countries that smooths over the ups and downs in investment activity in the developed capitalist countries and eases the fluctuations in loan interest rates plays a similar amortizing role. The sharp increase in bank credit to the developing countries in the 1970s engendered by the appearance of excess liquidity in the countries with developed capitalism was accompanied by an even sharper curtailment of that credit in the 1980s, when the cutoff of the circulation of monetary capital from the circulation of real capital reached a threatening scale.

It is obvious with a regard for the aforementioned that the substance of neo-colonial exploitation is far from reduced simply to the withdrawal of social product from the developing countries, be it on the basis of equivalent or non-equivalent exchange. The issue is sooner furthering the improvement of the general conditions for the self-augmentation of capital in the centers of the world capitalist economy. The quantitative valuations of that exploitation circulating in our literature based on comparisons of the influx and outflow of financial resources do not seem very convincing to me. No one would take it into his head to consider the correlation between the additional capital advanced over the course of the year and the annual body of profits obtained for all of the capital advanced as a measure of exploitation in relation to an individual capitalist. Similar juxtapositions in relation to the centers and periphery of the world capitalist economy have become the generally accepted norm. The dynamics of exploitation in reality have a direction counter to that arising from those calculations. The increase in exports of capital from the developed capitalist countries to the developing countries (and the corresponding net influx of resources to the latter) leads to an increase, not a decrease, in exploitation. On the contrary, the curtailment of bank credit to the developing world in the 1980s, accompanied by a net outflow of resources from the developing countries, even signified a relative narrowing of the sphere of their exploitation, especially with a regard for the drop in the floating interest rates.

Neo-colonial exploitation, in the face of all of these changes, plays a role known to be secondary in the process of capital accumulation in the developed capitalist countries. The conclusion that the centers of world capitalism exist at the expense of the peoples of the developing countries is of an emotional and political nature rather than a substantive one in this regard. Thus even such an unlikely variation as a marked curtailment of the economic ties of the center of the world capitalist economy with its periphery would hardly undermine the foundations of the reproductive process in the developing countries. At the same time, in absolute terms the

"recharge" of the self-augmentation of capital in the developed capitalist countries through both equivalent-value and non-equivalent relations with the developing world is quite material. This "recharge," for the individual segments of monopoly capital immediately involved in these relations, proves to be an essential condition for their functioning. In this sense, it is extremely difficult to imagine the real reasons that would impel imperialism to reject the mechanisms of neo-colonial exploitation. There is no need to mention that a curtailment of ties with the developed capitalist countries would prove to have an unfavorable effect on the state of the developing countries as well. The issue would sooner be partial transformations of the mechanism of exploitation.

G.K. Shirokov (USSR Academy of Sciences IV): The vested economic interest of the centers of capitalism in the periphery has changed markedly over the course of history. The exploitation of the colonies and semi-colonies, and then the developing countries, has decreased or increased accordingly. The level of participation of the developing countries in the reproduction of the developed capitalist countries is currently decreasing, but other factors are also at work.

An analysis of the history of the mutual relations between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries shows that a unified level and a unified template for the dependence of expanded reproduction of the developed countries on the developing ones has not existed and does not exist. This level is evidently determined by the nature and rate of development of productive forces at the centers of world capitalism at various times.

The industrial revolution, as is well known, first encompassed light industry, i.e. the sectors based on the processing of agricultural raw materials. The agriculture of the countries of Western Europe and the United States, based on tool labor and preserving noticeable enclaves of pre-capitalist production, moreover developed at a slower rate than industry, and in a number of cases population growth as well. It thus could not provide growing industry with enough raw materials in either quantity or quality.

The transformation of the colonies and dependent countries into a source of agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs for the Western powers was associated namely with the shortage and relative rise in costs in the first half of the 19th century. The flip side of the vanguard specialization of the colonies and semi-colonies was their transformation into a market for the sale of finished products. Along with the need to pay for raw materials, these exports were also stimulated by factors that were defined by the capitalist nature of production in the West itself.

The industrial revolution, accompanied by a rise in labor productivity and an expansion of the scale of production, worsened the problem of sales at once. Under

capitalism, as is well known, overproduction engenders a contradiction between the social nature of production and the private nature of appropriation. But this contradiction was made worse in the era of free competition in capitalism by the fact that a considerable portion of the population was still concentrated in manual production; labor productivity in the machine and tool sectors was of varying orders of magnitude. The schism in labor productivity became larger and larger to the extent of rises in the organic structure of capital in industry. The growth in the capacity of the domestic markets lagged the increases in industrial production to a greater and greater extent as a result.

Reproduction on an expanded scale could be accomplished under these conditions chiefly through increased access to foreign markets, and first and foremost in the colonial and dependent countries: during the second half of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, the growth rate of foreign trade outstripped the increases in GNP in the Western countries. Before the start of World War I, in other words, the dependence of the capitalist powers on the dependent colonial periphery was increasing steadily: on the one hand, they needed an ever greater influx of agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs and, consequently, larger sales markets, and on the other, the influx of colonial income stimulated the over-accumulation of capital, over-production and the like. It was namely these factors that strengthened the struggle for the colonial partitioning of the world.

At the same time, the contradiction between the primarily agrarian specialization of the dependent colonial periphery and the changing needs of the economies of the developed capitalist countries gradually began to grow at the end of the 19th century. First of all, the rapid development of heavy industry, distinguished by a higher level of technical capitalization, led to growth in the organic structure of capital and thereby to a relative reduction in variable capital. Second, a reduction in the share of goods of primary necessity in the overall consumption pattern of the center of world capitalism transpired. Third, the output of the developing countries began to be displaced by artificial materials. A reduction in the commodity assortment of the products supplied by the dependent colonial countries began with the end of the 19th century as a result.

At the same time, the dependent colonial periphery proved to be little prepared for interaction with the heavy industry of the Western countries. The colonies and semi-colonies during that period could not become first and foremost a reliable source of raw materials and fuel for heavy industry. The creation not only of capacity for their extraction, but also enterprises for enrichment, as well as a more powerful production infrastructure than for the export of agricultural products was required. In other words, considerable capital spending and a different social organization of production were essential.

Moreover, the rate of influx of foreign capital able to change the agrarian specialization was insignificant. This was connected with such factors as the processes of postwar rehabilitation of the economy of Europe, the militarization that had begun, reducing the over-accumulation of capital, and the rise in political risk in the activity due to the rise in national-liberation movements in the dependent colonial countries, among others.

The colonies and semi-colonies were unable to become a large market for heavy industry. Even though modern means of production had begun to be shipped to the colonial and dependent countries as of the latter third of the 19th century in connection with the export of capital and the construction of railroads, telegraph lines and enterprises in the extraction and processing industries, their share of exports remained a small one.

The role of the periphery in reproduction for the Western powers, under the influence of all these factors, began to diminish after World War I. This was reflected in all of the reproduction parameters, first and foremost in the dimensions of the pumping out of profits. This period continued practically into the 1950s.

A new increase in the significance of the developing countries in the reproduction of the imperialist powers was observed beginning in the 1950s that was initially connected with the restructuring of the raw-materials specialization of the liberated countries. The growth rates of the extraction industry in that group of countries in the 1950s and 1960s was actually 1.5 times higher than in the prewar period; they outstripped the rate of development of the machining industry. This rate allowed the developing countries to raise their share of the world extraction industry from 17 percent in 1950 to 40 percent in 1970. The export patterns of the developing countries were correspondingly altered: by the beginning of the 1970s over half of their exports to the imperialist countries were mineral raw materials and fuels or the products of their refinement. The share of agricultural raw materials and foodstuffs had declined to 1/3 of all shipments. The economic growth at the same time transformed the developing countries into major consumers of the output of Western heavy industry: they took over 1/2 of the total shipments of machinery and equipment and about 1/4 of the chemical commodities. At the same time, they purchased less than 1/6 of the overall shipments of light industry items.⁸

With the beginning of the fuel and energy crisis, the MNCs began a mass transfer of labor-intensive and resource-intensive enterprises to the liberated countries to reduce production costs. This made it possible for the developed capitalist countries to make use of the expanded reproduction of the cheap manpower of the developing countries along with their own. The monetary capital of the developing countries began to be involved via the recirculation of petrodollars into reproduction. A broader and more multi-lateral involvement of the developing countries in the process of expanded

reproduction in the West thus began to be observed in the 1950s-1970s. But that signified a strengthening of the dependence of the latter on the developing countries: it was namely during this period that they started talking about "mutual dependence."

But the cyclical and structural crises of the middle of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s themselves accelerated the structural restructuring and incorporation of the achievements of scientific and technical progress in the countries of the West. The vested interest of the Western countries in the developing world diminishes in the course of the structural restructuring and the emergence of a new technological model of production. First of all, resource conservation, the utilization of secondary resources and the expansion of mutual trade in raw materials and foodstuffs reduce the demand for the raw materials of the developing countries. Second, reductions in export income decrease opportunities for selling the conventional products of heavy industry to the developing countries, while the level of their economic potential still impedes the sale of scientifically sophisticated products to them. Third, the structural restructuring and incorporation of the latest technologies (along with the social tensions) make the utilization of cheap manpower and the import of industrial items, and consequently the import of capital into the developing countries, more difficult. It was thus namely in the 1980s that the distinctive displacement of the developing countries from the world capitalist economy was noted for all of the principal indicators. The share of the liberated countries in capitalist exports over 1981-86 dropped to 1/6, to 1/9 in capitalist imports and by more than half in the movement of loan capital.⁹

The reduction in the participation of the developing countries in the reproduction of the centers of world capitalism is the result of the growing lack of correspondence of their economic structures to the new technological model for reproduction in the imperialist states. It is obvious that the elimination of this lack of correspondence is possible just via modernizing the economic structures of the developing countries and bringing them up to the level of the requirements of imperialism. Such a modernization, however, requires enormous capital investments and a long period of time.

At the same time, the decline in the participation of the developing countries in the reproduction of the imperialist powers is not of a universal nature. A small group of countries has been singled out in the developing world that now meets the reproductive needs of the Western countries to this or that extent in their economic potential and level of development of productive forces. The transition to the new technological model thus required limiting the number of developing countries that were attracted to reproductive ties by imperialism.

This does not signify, however, that imperialism is ready to leave those countries whose share of the world capitalist economy has been reduced. And there are two

reasons for this. First, the opportunities for continuing the exploitation of that group of countries by imperialism using old methods are preserved, although they are being continuously reduced. Second, with the current correlation of world forces, imperialism has a vested interest in not allowing social outbursts in the developing countries. Whence the appearance of a number of stabilizing programs reckoned on preserving the social status quo in the liberated countries that remain outside the sphere of reproductive ties with imperialism.

It should be noted in conclusion that the balance of the movement of capital and the balance of payments overall give a distorted representation of the level of exploitation of the developing countries by imperialism. In reality, under conditions of expansion and favorable competitive market conditions, the influx of foreign capital exceeds the outflow; with high profit norms at foreign enterprises, the principal portion of it is usually re-invested. The level of exploitation is diminished as a result. On the contrary, under conditions of a recession, the outflow of foreign capital surpasses the influx, and the profit norms for foreign enterprises falls, but the principal portion of them are shipped out. An exaggerated depiction of the level of exploitation of the developing countries is created in that case.

Yu.G. Aleksandrov (USSR Academy of Sciences IV): The development of capitalism in the developing countries is proceeding not via the disintegration of the international structure, but rather via a strengthening of international intergrational ties with a defining role for commodity relations. There are no theoretical prohibitions on the developing countries achieving equal economic relations with the developed capitalist countries.

Notions of the fundamental impossibility for the developing countries to achieve economic equality with the developed capitalist countries and rid themselves of exploitation while remaining on the capitalist path of development and within the system of the world capitalist economy are currently extremely widespread in domestic academics. This is considered impossible because this inequality, it is supposed, is preserved permanently by virtue of objective laws of the reproduction of capital on a worldwide scale that do not depend on the will of anyone. The systematic redistribution of part of surplus value from the countries on the periphery of the world capitalist economy in favor of its centers are the chief manifestation and chief mechanism for the reproduction of relations of dependence therein.

Such ideas go back to the basic tenets of the theory of dependence, and in Soviet literature to the concept of dependent capitalist development that relies on the following premises:

1. The nature of the productive forces of the world capitalist economy is determined exclusively at its centers, reflecting the specific nature of the objective conditions

namely there. Technologies created in the course of scientific and technical revolution therefore in general do not correspond to the specific features of the socio-economic expanse of the developing countries and are thrust upon them by capital. The development of productive forces in those countries is thus determined from without, constantly reconstituting the relations of dependence.

2. A redistribution of surplus value in favor of the centers of the world capitalist economy occurs constantly in the foreign-trade exchange between the centers and the periphery as a consequence of the higher productivity of social labor in them.

3. The foundations of the inequality of the developing countries and the developed capitalist countries are inherent in the very nature of the productive relations of the capitalist mode of production on a world scale.

Among the indicated premises, the concept of non-equivalent exchange is an attempt to indicate in most direct fashion the concrete objective economic mechanism for the plundering of the developing countries by the capitalist ones—namely objective, as opposed to willful relations of exploitation. It is not difficult to see its link with the theory of dependence, according to which the general laws of the development of world productive forces are constantly reproducing the lag of the developing countries relative to the level of productivity of social labor. This notion undoubtedly does not correspond to important trends in the development of the contemporary world, in which integrating processes are steadily growing stronger. They are creating the preconditions for an equalizing of the world economic expanse and are more and more orienting the objective process of the development of world productive forces toward the conditions that are taking shape in all parts of that expanse with the correlation of various economic resources and factors of production typical of them.

The question of the mechanism of non-equivalent exchange itself is of no less importance. The debate continues in this realm, but in my opinion, it is possible to assert that the advocates of this concept are unable to point out a real mechanism for the redistribution of surplus value in the process of commodity exchange that would not violate the requirements of the law of value. In attempts to assert the idea of non-equivalent exchange, foreign trade among the countries (or among individual sectors in one country) is actually inevitably equated with the exchange of clumps of abstract labor irrespective of the consumer value of the goods (with the aim of exchanging a lesser quantity of abstract labor for a greater one). It has been proven convincingly, however, that a unilateral redistribution of surplus value cannot occur in trade exchange with observance of the law of value, since no surplus value is found in the mechanism of exchange.¹⁰

Clarification of this issue is vitally necessary, since aside from all else the idea of non-equivalent exchange engenders great confusion. The idea is essentially being created that in the process of commodity exchange, any economic system with a higher labor productivity will inevitably, by virtue of objective economic laws, plunder the economic system with lower labor productivity irrespective of whether the issue is trade among the developing countries and the capitalist ones or among the developing countries and socialist ones.

A point of view recently advanced¹¹—according to which commodity relations in the Orient are distinguished by a basic specific nature from time immemorial that embodies willful, subjective relations rather than objective economic ones, as a consequence of which the categories of value and socially essential labor are not applicable to such commodity relations at all—could be considered a new attempt to breathe life into the idea of non-equivalent exchange. The permanent digression of the proportions of exchange (distorted from the very beginning now) from the levels established by the law of value are considered a factor providing for the regular mobilization of the mass of unpaid live labor in the developing countries by capital. But the sway of willful relations in foreign-trade exchange arises from the initial notion of the nature of commodity relations in the Orient. The question of improving the situation of the developing countries in the system of world economic ties can correspondingly also be resolved only through willful means.

It is obvious that such an approach essentially denies the objective nature of the law of value that indicates the general laws of the economic process as manifested regardless of the will of people. The whole problem of the mutual relations of the developing countries with the developed capitalist countries, aside from with all other countries, are thereby actually shifted onto the plane of willful political relations. The problems of the formation and development of the world capitalist economy as an economic (and socio-economic) expanse are correspondingly removed beyond the bounds of objective academic research by means of political economy.

The tenet of the fundamental impossibility of establishing equal relations between the developing countries and the centers of the world capitalist economy as a consequence of the specific nature of the general laws of development of capitalism in the one and the other enjoys even greater circulation. The concept of non-equivalent exchange is of a partial and even non-compulsory nature within the framework of this approach, since a more sweeping nature is assigned to the mechanism of plundering the developing countries, and its effects are associated with the specific nature of the productive relations of world capitalism.

The essence of this hypothesis is the fact that capitalism in the developing countries is deemed to be weak and

waning due to its supposedly organic inability to transform the pre-capitalist economic expanse surrounding it. Its failures in attempts to get rid of reliance on non-commodity redistribution mechanisms in relations both with its own intrinsic pre-capitalist periphery and with the centers of world capitalism also arise therefrom. Capitalism in the developing countries is thereby deemed able to exist only in an artificial environment, in which it is protected from competition by the capital of the centers of the world capitalist economy and from the intrinsic non-capitalist periphery, which proves to have a depressing influence on it. The general laws of the functioning of capital in a pre-capitalist socio-economic expanse are thereby transferred to a contemporary situation. The conclusion of the primacy of political relations over economic ones follows logically from this.

The idea of the lack of correspondence of the technology of contemporary capitalism to the objective conditions in the developing countries, typified by a scarcity of capital resources in the face of an abundance of labor resources of a traditional type and, consequently, the idea of the necessity of an artificial environment for productive capital, in my opinion, lies at the foundation of the view of peripheral capitalism as organically waning and thus dependent. All of this in turn springs from the incorrect equation of contemporary technology of the era of scientific and technical revolution exclusively with the technology of large-scale industrial production—capital-intensive and labor-conserving. And yet another aspect of the theoretical lack of substance of this point of view consists of the fact that it actually derives from the obsolete notion of the absolute supremacy of large-scale production over small-scale production, making it necessary to consider the process of the development of capitalism in the developing countries as the inevitable and essential destruction of small-scale production by capital. Such destruction is naturally impossible for socio-political reasons, which indeed are deemed one of the most important limitations for capitalism.

The practices of the developing countries in the 1970s and 1980s moreover point more and more distinctly to the fact that the development of capitalism in them proceeds on the basis of a multi-institutional structure, but not via its disintegration, but on the contrary via a strengthening of integrating inter-institutional ties on the basis of the rapid development of commodity relations. The placement of a base of commodity relations under all the institutions of the economy in inter-institutional ties facilitates the integration of all spheres of small-scale production into a unified social-reproduction organism in which the role of the system-forming element is played by capitalist production. The role of state ownership herein is reduced more and more to regulatory functions.

Having been able in the last decade and a half to advance along the path of integrating small-scale production into the system of the capitalistically developing basis in the

Third World countries with the trend toward an acceleration in the growth of the productivity of social labor, capital on the periphery of the world capitalist economy has thereby advanced along the path of establishing more equitable relations with the centers of that system as well. The discussion of course concerns equality from the point of view of the objective law of a commodity economy and the capitalist mode of production. These fundamental possibilities can be realized in practice only in the rivalry of the developing countries with the developed capitalist countries at all levels of their interaction. It is important to be aware, however, that there do not exist such basic theoretical prohibitions that would force the assertion, from a purely economic point of view, that the equality of the developing countries with the capitalist countries cannot be achieved and thus this problem can be resolved only by political means under the influence of the threat of destabilizing the capitalist world.

Ye.S. Popov (USSR Academy of Sciences IMRD [Institute of the International Workers' Movement]): There are grounds to suppose that the exploitation of the resources of the developing countries by the capital of the West will be more and more cleansed of its neo-colonial traits of the constraint of freedom of economic choice and will rely first and foremost on the effects of competitive-market laws.

An evaluation of contemporary trends and prospects depends largely on an understanding of what is called "non-equivalent exchange." We judge equilibrium in free exchange chiefly through statistics of value indicators—the movements of prices, capital, profits etc. Cost evaluations reflect the social utility of economic efforts. Since the pattern of economic efforts (and output) and the pricing systems differ in societies with varying levels of development, monetary indicators are not very comparable. Physical comparisons make more sense. The gap in calorie intake in the world, say proves to be on the order of no more than two and a half times.

Free exchange for K. Marx looks like this from the point of view of physical comparisons and the qualitative analysis based on them: each participant in it surrenders to another that which he does not need himself, but has an exchange value, and receives from his counterpart that which has no consumer value for him. Both parties to the exchange proceed from their own, non-comparable systems of values, and in this sense exchange is always equivalent and non-equivalent simultaneously. Physical incomparability and value equivalence are features of market exchange. But the receipt of a consumer impact useful to the party remains an immutable fact. That is namely why in the dynamic, the consumer always obtains more than he pays, as has long been established by economic theory.

A correlation of movements of world prices for raw materials and finished industrial items that is unfavorable to the developing countries is in no way an obligatory feature of non-equivalent exchange. The objective

basis of this unfavorable correlation is obvious: the raw materials are a relatively homogeneous good, and growth in labor productivity in their production are realized primarily through changes in the scale of output and relative prices, while the increases in labor productivity in the production of the finished industrial output that is so differentiated today are realized first and foremost through rises in the quality and complexity of the goods and through corresponding rises in their prices.

It can be asserted overall that in a market exchange free of coercion, equivalence is usually observed. In the relations between the developed and the developing countries, however, by virtue of a number of well-known reasons, an asymmetry of mutual dependence arises which serves as the objective basis of neo-colonial exploitation.

The nature of the economic relations between the countries of developed capitalism and its periphery are undergoing inevitable changes to the extent of the economic development and further integration of the liberated states into the world capitalist economy. I will illustrate this using trends in the sphere of the activity of the MNCs—central to the whole contemporary system of neo-colonial exploitation.

The cheapness of manpower is one of the main factors attracting the MNCs to the labor-intensive sectors of the developing regions. The low cost of manpower is profitable from the point of view of the profitability of operations only when it at least compensates for its low productivity. It is well known, however, that in large-scale comparisons in time and place, wage payments on the average prove to be proportional to productivity and quality. But that is ultimately, on the long-term plane. It is frequently difficult to trace a direct dependence between productivity, quality and pay in specific situations. The MNCs, oriented toward the cheapness of labor in the developing countries, are undoubtedly wagering on a "skewing" of the proportions in their favor in the sphere of labor exploitation and in the markets for finished products. How justified are their calculations?

A very cheap but disciplined and potentially productive labor force is available in Southeast and East Asia. The practices of the region, where a considerable portion of the investments of the MNCs is concentrated in labor-intensive sectors (electronics, weaving and the footwear industry among others), the following picture is seen. There are fragmentary reports that at first the MNCs had profit levels of 30-50 percent, i.e. considerably higher than in the industrially developed states. Then, however, the influx of foreign capital and the creation of a multitude of new enterprises engendered intensive economic growth in the country, the development of its manpower, the resolution of unemployment and a shortage of labor resources in many new sectors. The combination of those trends led inevitably to an increase in real wages. Under conditions of a sharpening of international competition,

the simplest labor-intensive operations (assembly or the like) became unprofitable for the foreign owners. The complication and even partial automation of production in the branches of the MNCs began, along with a rise in the overall technical level of the whole industrial structure of the country. The foreign owners had to shift the simple operations to less developed states with lower wages. The situation was repeated there, and the time came to move the simplest labor-intensive types of production to the next group of countries with cheap labor. Three such waves of displacement have been observed over two decades. The reserve of super-profitability, and simply profitability, for the MNCs was accordingly not large and was short-term in duration even in Southeast and East Asia, with its disciplined and productive workforce.

The impression is taking shape that neo-colonial super-profits differ materially from colonial ones: they are most often not a permanent privilege, a "life annuity," in the absence of a colonial monopoly. This in no way means that multinational capital is doomed to be deprived of any super-profits in the developing regions in the future. The attempts to "snatch", find the next "mother lode," were and will be characteristic of the MNCs—like the aspirations of any capitalist firm for additional profits, always transient and slipping away. The development of market relations in the liberated countries and their ever greater integration into the world capitalist economy are expanding the sphere of influence of capitalist laws, including the law of additional profits, in those countries. It is not surprising on this plane that the capitalist transformation of the developing societies and the strengthening of competition in their internal and foreign markets make the specific advantages of specific affiliates of the MNCs temporary, more and more imparting to neo-colonial super-profits the form of conventional capitalist additional profits, gradually cleansing it of the features of a lack of economic freedom ("neocolonialism").

We will address some of the general features of the withdrawal of capital from the Third World regions. Research has shown that wages and working conditions at foreign affiliates and at local enterprises in the developing countries with a similar level of technology and complexity are quite close, i.e. are determined first and foremost by the technical and economic parameters of production (such is the picture in the industrially developed countries as well). Data on the profitability of MNC investments in the developing regions that turns up in the press from time to time makes it possible to conclude that the winning of independence led to a fall in the income levels of the monopolies participating in colonial exploitation and that the profitability of MNC investments in the machining industry in the Third World today is most often similar with the profit norms in the countries where they are based and the countries in the West. Such important conditions of the financing of foreign enterprises as the share of borrowed funds and the proportionate share of re-invested profits for the

American affiliates in the developing countries are close to those indicators for the domestic market in the United States. All of this testifies to the presence of a trend toward uniformity in the investment process on a global scale.¹²

Of course, neither the capitalist development of the liberated countries nor the transformation of the branches of the MNCs there from a narrow enclave into an important component of the national economy nor the active integration of those countries into the world capitalist economy will be able to eliminate the trailing position of the young states in the world system of the capitalist division of labor in the foreseeable future. These processes, however, are steadily expanding the sphere of influence of norms and phenomena conventional to capitalism in the developing regions. The trend toward global uniformity in the investment activity of the MNCs that arises in the course of the economic development of the capitalist periphery is wholly a part of the general historical process of the ascent of capital from comparatively simple forms to more complex ones. The technical and economic proportions characteristic of it are the first principle predetermining the competitive ability of capitalist enterprises.

That is how the overall picture looks to me. In a climate of increasing mutual dependence, the liberated states will be forced to make even further use of the financial resources, knowledge, technology, services and cadres of specialists of the developed countries, while the capital of the West will continue to exploit the resources of the developing regions. There are grounds to suppose that such exploitation will be cleansed more and more of the neo-colonial traits of the constraint of freedom of economic choice and will rely first and foremost on the effects of competitive-market laws.

Footnotes

1. V.I. Lenin. Complete Collected Works, Vol 27, p 386.
2. See: L.V. Stepanov. "Problema ekonomicheskoy nezavisimosti" [The Problem of Economic Independence]. Moscow, 1965, pp 28-49; V.V. Smirnov. "Rol vneshnikh faktorov v ekonomicheskom razvitii stran 'Tretyego mira'" [The Role of External Factors in the Economic Development of Third World Countries]. Moscow, 1975, pp 38-64.
3. See: Ye. Varga. "Ocherki po problemam politekonomii kapitalizma" [Sketches in Problems of the Political Economy of Capitalism]. Moscow, 1964, pp 139-143.
4. P. Bairoch. Le volume des productions et du produit national dans le Tiers monde (1900-1977).—Revue Tiers-Monde. 1979, Octobre-Décembre, p 690.

5. Calculated from: B.M. Bolotin, V.L. Sheynis. "Ekonomika razvivayushchikhsya stran v tsifrakh" [The Economy of the Developing Countries in Figures]. Moscow, 1988, p. 70.

6. B.M. Bolotin, V.L. Sheynis. Op. cit., pp 343, 572, 83-84.

7. K. Marx and F. Engels. Works. Vol 26, Part III, p 105.

8. See: "Razvivayushchiyesya strany: ekonomicheskiy rost i sotsialnyy progress" [The Developing Countries: Economic Growth and Social Progress]. Moscow, 1983, pp 21-26.

9. G.K. Shirokov. "Razvivayushchiyesya strany v mirovom kapitalisticheskoy khozyaystve" [The Developing Countries in the World Capitalist Economy]. Moscow, 1987, p 224.

10. See: N.A. Simoniya. On the Economic Substance of "Non-Equivalent Exchange."—NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1972, No 1.

11. See: "Problemy razvitiya kapitalizma na Vostoke" [Problems of the Development of Capitalism in the Orient]. Moscow, 1987.

12. I performed an analysis of the corresponding data in Chapter 4 of the collective monograph "Transnatsionalnyye korporatsii i rabochiy klass" [The Multinational Corporations and the Working Class] (Moscow, 1987).

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Formation of South Africa's Urban Population
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Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 142-148

[Article by A.V. Belyayev: "The Formation of the Urban Population of South Africa"]

[Text] *The apartheid regime is trying to prevent the permanent residence of Africans in "white" regions of South Africa. It is proving to be unable, however, to curtail the process of the formation of an urban African population in the country.*

Right up until the 1960s, the formation of the urban African population of South Africa proceeded chiefly through former rural residents that settled in the cities. The migration of Africans into "white" regions began as

early as in the 1880s, when the developing gold-extraction industry required cheap manpower. At that time practically all of the indigenous population lived under conditions of a kinship-tribal structure, and the attraction of Africans to work in the mines and pits was possible only via the destruction of the patriarchal social principles and traditional systems of land use. That was the goal of the Native Lands Law—the legal foundation for the land plundering of the Africans—that was adopted in 1913. According to that law, the Africans—a majority of the country's population—were allotted just 8.5 percent of its territory (the overall area of the Bantustans later comprised some 13.7 percent of the territory of South Africa). The Africans could be in the "white" areas of the country only temporarily and only for the purpose of selling their manpower, i.e. as migratory workers. Land shortages forced the African peasants to abandon their villages from time to time so as to feed their families. The Africans moreover needed money to pay the taxes instituted to stimulate migration.

The settlement process of Africans in "white" cities began as early as the 1910s-1920s, taking the form of partially controlled urbanization under the influence of discriminatory laws. The growth of the African urban population transpired especially intensively in the war and postwar years, which was conditioned by the high rate of economic development of South Africa (see table). The rapid growth in the urban African population, as in other countries, was facilitated by the processes of "displacement" from the villages and "gravitation" to the city. The policies of the ruling circles, however, as opposed to the majority of African countries in southern Africa, led to the fact that "displacement" predominated over "gravitation." The residents of the Bantustans were unable to exist without additional earnings in "white" South Africa. According to official data, out of the African population of the country of 24,103,000 in 1984, 13,091,000 (54 percent) people lived in the Bantustans, i.e. 40 percent of the population on 13.7 percent of the territory of South Africa.¹ The agrarian over-population of the Bantustans was expressed in the fragmentation of plots of land and growth in the numbers of landless peasants. In the 1970s, for example, 1/2 of the families settled in the Ciskei Bantustan had no land holdings.² The poorly developed economy of the reservations supported the work of just 28,000 of the 100,000 people that were added annually to the labor resources of those territories in those years.³ More than half of adult males from the Bantustans, and in some regions up to 70 percent, were migrants in "white" South Africa.⁴ From 88 to 90 percent of all the income of the Bantustan populations was comprised of monetary transfers sent by migratory workers to their families.⁵

Growth of Urban African Population in South Africa %

Year	Total African population (thousands)	Average annual increase over period (percent)	Urban African population (thousands)	Average annual increase over period (percent)
1936	6,597	—	1,142	—
1946	7,831	1.87	1,856	6.25
1951	8,560	1.87	2,391	5.80
1960	10,928	3.07	3,431	5.02
1970	15,340	4.04	5,070	4.61
1985	24,100	3.81	8,000	3.85

Source: Population Census 1960. Vol. 6, pp 3, 8, 9; Statistical Year Book. 1964. Pretoria, 1964, p A-12; SRR, 1977, p 5; The Financial Mail, 16 Aug 85.

The dimensions of unemployment among Africans in South Africa also testifies to the scale of the "displacement" of the population from the Bantustans. There were over 5 million unemployed Africans in the country in 1986, according to unofficial data. This means that "black" South Africa was unable to take back hundreds of thousands of Africans that had been displaced from agriculture in the Bantustans and had not found work in the contemporary sector of the economy.

We will try to determine the share of migrants in the economically active urban African population of South Africa. The statistics considerably diminish the corresponding figures, since they do not take into account the illegal migrants, i.e. those who have been able to get jobs without obtaining the right to live in an urban area. According to the calculations of J. Nattrass, the share of migrants was 49.6 percent in 1970 (1.75 million people).⁶ Data on changes in the share of migrants in the able-bodied African population can doubtless be extrapolated to the urban African population, since the overwhelming majority of the migrants work in the cities. A steady trend toward a decline in that share is revealed. In 1960 the count of the economically active population of South Africa totaled 3.89 million people; there were 1.723 million migrants working in the country (including citizens of neighboring African countries), i.e. migrants totaled 44.3 percent of the African workforce.⁷ In 1982, with an economically active African population of 10.13 million people, there were 1.696 million migrant workers, i.e. their share had dropped to 17 percent.⁸

The so-called commuters or "day" migrants—that is, individuals who travel to work each day to a "white" city from a village or city in the Bantustan—have a unique situation among the workers employed at enterprises in the "white" cities. This creates a situation advantageous for the authorities. A commuter performing the functions of a contemporary worker remains at the level of a resident of a village or small city in the Bantustan in his socio-psychological characteristics and degree of social and political activeness. The system of daily migration moreover allows the authorities and businessmen to evade responsibility for the social security of their "shuttle" migrants and the members of their families,

limits their trade-union activity and considerably reduces the cost of manpower—all under the pretext that these types of workers are the residents of the autonomous Bantustans or "independent national states." "Weekly" workers, i.e. those who spend the work week in the "white" zone, living in dormitories, and travel home on days off, are more and more widespread of late.

Research conducted at the enterprises of "border" industries (i.e. those located near the Bantustans) has shown that the wages of the "shuttle" migrant workers are an average of 30 percent less than those of a worker in a "white" industrial center.⁹ The intensive development of "border" industry has caused a rapid growth in the number of "daily" workers. They increased from 291,000 to 700,000 from 1970-1984, while their share of the Africans working in "white" cities grew from 10 to 16 percent.¹⁰

Notwithstanding the prevalence of the "displacement" of Africans from the village over "gravitation" to the city, the latter has played a material and ever growing role in the process of urbanization of the indigenous population of the country in the 1970s and 1980s. "Beginning" migrants usually came to the cities so as to supplement the income of their family, and they sought to return to the village as quickly as possible. Many of them, however, were gradually drawn into urban life. At first they were attracted by higher wages than in the Bantustans. At the end of the 1970s, for example, the per-capita income of the urban African resident was four times higher than that of a Bantustan resident, and eight times more as recalculated per worker.¹¹ With the passage of time, after a quite difficult period of psychological adaptation to urban life, the African begins to become aware of its other advantages, namely those associated with the social infrastructure (broader opportunities for obtaining qualifications and education, for relaxation, diversions, better living conditions than in the village etc.).

A considerable difference exists in the indicators of annual increase in the numbers of the whole African community of the country and the population of the townships in favor of the latter in the prewar and the first

postwar years. This testifies to the fact that before the 1960s, the increases in the number of residents in them occurred chiefly through the influx of the rural population into the cities and their settlement there. The convergence of the corresponding indicators for the 1960s and 1970s period and their almost complete coincidence by the middle of this decade, along with the sharp drop in the rate of urbanization, are indicators of the completion of the process of the formation of the township population. More evidence of this is the growth in unemployment among the permanent urban African population as well. As early as 1977, the number of registered unemployed in the townships stood at 634,000.¹² The official statistics in South Africa take into account just those unemployed urban Africans that have the right to permanent residence in the townships. These are principally hereditary urbanites. The growth in unemployment among them testifies to the fact that as early as at the end of the 1970s, the natural increase in the African population of the townships satisfied the needs of the economy of the old industrial centers for personnel: a shortage of them could not, as before, facilitate an increase in the urban population through an influx from without. The needs of industry for unskilled workers continue to be satisfied chiefly through seasonal workers and commuters. The reduction in the share of the indigenous population of South Africa in the "white" regions as a proportion of the whole body of it—from 53.4 to 45.7 percent over 1970-1984—is an indirect confirmation of the decline in the rate of urbanization of Africans.¹³

Data on the share of urbanized Africans of the overall mass of residents of the townships also testify to the process of stabilization of the population in these suburbs. Their numbers, according to our calculations, grew from 1.4 million to 6.3 million people over 1960-1982, which comprises over 90 percent of the residents of the townships. This evaluation is confirmed by the data of South African statistics and the calculations of other researchers.

A census was done in 1960 in the largest cities of South Africa to reveal through polling the share of permanent residents in the overall mass of the African population of the given region. The indicators for individual regions proved to be different—from 13.3 to 85.6 percent; the average share of the urbanized African population was 48.2 percent.¹⁴ A significant subsegment of second-generation African urbanites had moreover already formed by the beginning of the 1960s in almost all the major industrial centers and African settlements of South Africa. It totaled 14 percent, for example, in East London and 15 percent in Soweto.¹⁵ Over the 1960s the share of hereditary urban residents increased even more. In 1970 second- and third-generation African urban residents comprised 58 percent of the male population over 16 years of age of Soweto, 48 percent in Daveyton and 38 percent in Mamelodi.¹⁶ The share of all urbanized (both hereditary urban residents and those that former rural residents conclusively settled in the cities)

was even higher in these settlements. The data of the Rikert Commission say that in 1971, 57 percent of the men and 73 percent of the women had special rights of residence in the townships in the "white" zone of the country, while migrants comprised just 29 percent of the African manpower of "white" South Africa.¹⁷ The special rights to reside in the townships, according to Section 10(1) of the Composite Law on Natives in Urban Regions (1945), could be had only by those Africans that had lived and worked continuously in the "white" zone of the country, i.e. were actually permanent urban residents.¹⁸ The calculations of individual researchers confirm overall the governmental evaluation of the share of urbanized residents and provide information on their absolute numbers. According to the data of J. Nattrass, the number of adult Africans that had received special rights in accordance with Section 10(1) of the 1945 law totaled 1.524 million people in 1970 (among which were 887,000 men).¹⁹ Taking into account the fact that there were an average of three children living with their parents in the African family, as a rule, the number of permanent urban residents can be determined. According to our calculations, it was 3.2 million people in 1970, or approximately 80 percent of the population of the townships with a regard for migrants. These data coincide with the evaluation of the South African authors L. Leistner and W. Breytenbach, who figured that, at the beginning of the 1970s, the socio-demographic descriptions of permanent urban inhabitants in the "white" urban zone had 3.2 million Africans, or 4/5 of the urban population of the country, living there.²⁰ This figure is also given in authoritative research devoted to the process of urbanization of Africans in South Africa.²¹

It is more difficult to evaluate the number of African urbanites at the end of the 1970s and beginning of the 1980s. Research conducted by a commission for studying the problems of urban Africans (the Jilly Commission) showed that 58 percent of all Africans over 16 years of age living in the townships were born in the city, while 88 percent of the rest had lived there more than 10 years.²² According to the data of the Urban Fund (a private organization studying the problems of urban Africans and allocating funding for solving them), some 96 percent of the adult residents of Soweto in 1980 had lived there over 20 years.²³

It can be considered overall that by the end of the 1970s, over 90 percent of the residents of the African suburbs were permanent residents, and the increase in population in them transpired practically just through natural reproduction. The remaining population (about 10 percent) was comprised of constantly changing migrant workers (dormitory residents)—unskilled and semi-skilled workers employed mainly in the mining industry and as servants.

This conclusion, however, can be extended only to the population of the townships—i.e. the areas of "white" South Africa specially allocated for the residence of Africans employed at enterprises in the "white" cities.

The growth in the urban African population across the country overall continued intensively in the 1980s as well, mainly through the "border" population, the overwhelming majority of which (over 5/6) resided in cities and settlements of a city type.²⁴ Over 1977-1985 alone, the numbers of the "border" population increased from 1.393 to 3 million people, i.e. the rate of its annual increase was 14 percent.²⁵ The population of the squatter-type settlements (individuals that illegally took land to build housing) also increased rapidly both in the "border" regions of the Bantustans and in the proximity of the major industrial centers of "white" South Africa. The number of "purely" squatter population approached a million by the end of the 1970s.²⁶

The intensive increase in the number of "bedroom-cities" and squatter settlements, frequently comprising common complexes, is conditioned by two factors. Chief among them is the government policy of evicting Africans from "white" regions. According to the Law on Group Settlements (1950), a multitude of African villages and settlements "sprinkled" in the "white" zones ("black points" or "spots") were subject to annihilation, and the Africans residing in them to eviction to the Bantustans or, which happened more rarely, into another region in "white" South Africa. According to the data of the Excess People Project public organization, some 3.523 million people were resettled over the period of 1960 to 1982.²⁷ Only at the beginning of 1985 did the government declare a halt to the policy of forced resettlements. The facts show that the ruling circles of South Africa have not completely rejected the elimination of the "black points." In the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s, growth in the demand for African manpower, which at the time had still not been satisfied through natural increases in the population of the townships, also played a definite role in increasing the population of the squatter settlements. Even at that time, South Africa disposed of considerable reserves of manpower that had been formed as a result of the "eviction" of hundreds of thousands of Africans from the Bantustans. But the government policy of limiting urbanization impeded their utilization as permanent workers. Many of the former rural residents found work in the cities and even obtained the right to reside in the "white" zones along with their families, but they were unable to settle in the townships as a consequence of the acute shortage of housing in them. The government deliberately did not develop housing construction there. Not a single home for African families was thus built in the environs of Pretoria over the course of the 1960s and 1970s. The government later set about the active construction of housing, but the rapid natural growth in the urban African population has considerably outstripped the scope of increase in the housing stock. According to the data of the national commission on labor resources, the shortage of housing for Africans was determined to be 560,000 homes, taking into account the "border" and squatter population, at the beginning of the 1980s.²⁸ It is namely the homeless former rural residents, as well as

those displaced from the "black points," that also comprise the principal mass of the population of the squatter and "border" settlements.

The situation that has taken shape in the Pretoria area is an example of the link between the policy of limiting the urbanization of Africans and growth in the population of the "border" "bedroom-cities" and squatter settlements. The construction of family housing for Africans and dormitories for migrants was halted in the townships around the capital as of 1967. The number of inhabitants located in the "border" settlement of Tarankuwa (in the Bophuthatswana Bantustan), located 34 kilometers from the capital, grew from 12,000 to 72,500 from 1965 through 1975 as a result. The number of Africans settled in the squatter settlement of Winterwild, also located near Pretoria, totaled 100,000 in 1973 but more than 300,000 in 1975.²⁹

Whereas commuters and their families reside in the "border" towns, the purely "squatter" camps are populated principally by Africans living illegally in "white" South Africa. In 1984 some 50 percent of the men and 90 percent of the women in the squatter settlement of Crossroads located near Cape Town were living there illegally,³⁰ as were those migrants who as a result of their status were unable to move their families into a township. Such Africans build housing in the settlements using auxiliary materials and bring their families in from the Bantustans, but they continue to pay for a place in a dormitory located in an "official" township so as to be considered legal residents of the "white" zone. Some 23 percent of the heads of families in Crossroads were such migrants at the end of the 1970s.³¹ The subsegment of people that have for various reasons been evicted from the townships is very considerable. A poll conducted in the settlement of Inanda (Natal Province) revealed that 40.8 percent of its residents had lived in the townships in the past.³² The overwhelming majority of the squatters (both the legal and illegal residents of the "white" zone) have lived in the settlements for a long time. At the end of the 1970s, the average duration of habitation for the heads of households in Crossroads was 18.2 years, and for their wives 11.7 years.³³ The majority of the people living in these settlements thus are actually permanent urban residents (although it is difficult to call such settlements cities).

One typical feature of the employment of the population of the squatter settlements should be noted—a rapidly growing share of their residents is composed of individuals that cannot find work at modern enterprises and, as a consequence, are either employed in the unofficial sector of the economy in the settlement or reinforce the ranks of the unemployed.³⁴ None of them wants to return to the Bantustan, where there are practically no means for their existence. A poll conducted in the settlement of Inanda showed that 98.1 percent of its residents would like to remain there for good.³⁵ The squatter camps were moreover regularly subjected to police raids that destroyed the decrepit structures; the

residents were forcibly driven into resettlement camps located in the Bantustans. After declaring a halt to the policy of forced resettlements at the beginning of 1985, the authorities began seeking out other methods for eliminating some of the squatter settlements. This relates, for example, to the Crossroads community. For a long time the authorities were unable to achieve the eviction of the residents of that settlement into the settlement of Haelitsha further from Cape Town that was specially constructed by the government. The Africans did not want to resettle there for various reasons. The illegal residents feared that their status would be revealed in the course of resettlement and they would be sent to the Bantustans. Many of them could not manage the high payments to rent housing and the trip or the remoteness from their places of work.

In order to "substantiate" its plans for resettlement, the government provoked a bloody clash between opposing groups of Africans in Crossroads in May of 1986, as a result of which over 40 people perished and more than 60,000 were left without a roof over their heads; practically all the residents of the "opposition" regions of Crossroads were forced to resettle to Haelitsha. But the very fact of the resettlement of the Africans into Haelitsha, located in the "white" zone, and the curtailment of the "official" forced resettlement of other squatters testify to the fact that the ruling circles of South Africa have actually recognized the right of the squatter population to permanent residence in the "white" zone, at the same time trying to locate them in the regions that are safest for the authorities.

The policy pursued by the ruling circles of South Africa of averting the urbanization of Africans has thus had only limited and temporary success. Apartheid has proven to be unable to cut off the process of formation of an urban African population, although it has significantly slowed and deformed this process. The objective laws of socio-economic development have led to the fact that at the end of the 1970s, the process of formation of a permanent population of old "official" African settlements located around the "white" cities has actually been completed. Growth in the population of these settlements is being impeded chiefly by the acute shortage of housing, as well as the impossibility of providing employment on a permanent basis for the population that is newly arrived, and not legislative measures. The African population, as we have already noted, is currently growing intensively only in the "border" and squatter settlements through an influx from without.

In the 1960s and first half of the 1970s, the major portion of the Africans newly arrived in these settlements found work in the modern sector of the economy, while the most severe living conditions were, as a rule, the result of the illegal residence of them and their families in the "white" regions. The share of this category of squatters as a part of the population of the settlements has declined steadily in recent years. Urbanization in squatter settlements is beginning to acquire a

similarity to the "super-urbanization" in the developing countries, caused by the population explosion and the intensive displacement of "excess" population from rural areas, in essence as well as in outward traits. A consequence of this was the growth in employment in the unofficial sector of the economy, unemployment, poverty and hunger characteristic of the developing world in these settlements. This has led, in a socio-political regard, to a strengthening of traditionalist and essentially reactionary organizations and groups in the "border" and squatter settlements.

The "pronouncement" of actually uncontrollable urbanization outside the boundaries of the townships averted the "resorption" core of hereditary urban residents in the mass of those newly arrived in the townships, thereby facilitating an acceleration in the processes of class formation and consolidation of the African proletariat.

The very fact of the residence of individuals in the settlements that do not associate their aspirations and future, by virtue of either objective or subjective causes, with permanent residence in the city somewhat weakens the social and political potential of the African urban residents and their readiness to fight the apartheid regime. Differences in living conditions and in social psychology and culture among the permanent residents and the migrants that are residents of the dormitories gives rise to contradictions between those two population groups. This circumstance has been made use of more than once, and evidently will be made use of again, by the South African authorities for the purpose of dividing forces with a vested interest in the destruction of the current political system.

Rapid growth in the number of "daily" migrants in recent years has not only facilitated a strengthening of the exploitation of African manpower, but also has important socio-economic and political consequences as well. The increase in the number of commuters essentially signifies a replacement of the old migratory system with a new method of exploiting the African workers that is a marked drag on growth in their class consciousness. The chief trend in the development of the socio-political situation in the townships, however, is the strengthening of the anti-racist struggle of the African residents. The completion of the process of the formation of the population of those settlements has led to the fact that the permanent urban resident has become the principal figure in the African suburbs, whose plans and aspirations, conditioned by the increased level of his culture and education, are coming into sharp contradiction with the reality of the "white" city around him. This is leading to a strengthening of opposition sentiments among the African urban residents, which has elicited a new rise in the struggle of the oppressed majority of South Africa against the apartheid regime in the middle of the 1980s.

Footnotes

1. A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa (henceforth—SRR). Johannesburg, 1985, p 185.

2. *The African Communist*. 1974, No 56, p 28.
 3. South Africa. Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa 1982 (henceforth—SAOY). Johannesburg, 1982, p 236.
 4. J. Nattrass. *The South African Economy. Its Growth and Change*. Cape Town, 1981, p 113.
 5. ANC Weekly News Briefing. London, 1983, No 50, p 8.
 6. J. Nattrass. Op. cit., p 14.
 7. Calculated from: Ibid., p 41; Population Census 1960. Vol 6, Pretoria, 1960, pp 351-352; SRR, 1963, p 144.
 8. SRR, 1984, pp 248, 258; 1982, p 85.
 9. International Confederation of Labor. Third Special Report of the General Director on the Application of the Declaration in Relation to the Policy of Apartheid as Pursued by the South African Republic. Geneva, 1967, p 16.
 10. Population Census 1970. Rep No 02-02-02, p 13; South African Statistics 1982. Pretoria, 1982, pp 1, 31; SRR, 1977, p 223; 1984, pp 258-259.
 11. *The Rand Daily Mail*. Johannesburg, 5 Aug 79.
 12. SAOY. 1983, p 448.
 13. Population Census 1970. Rep. No 02-02-02, p 2; SRR, 1984, pp 184-185.
 14. Statistical Year Book. 1964, pp A-52—A-62.
 15. B.A. Pouw. *The Second Generation. Study of Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London*. Cape Town, 1963, p VI; South Africa: Sociological Perspectives. London, 1971, p 159.
 16. SRR, 1970, p 81.
 17. Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Legislation Affecting Utilisation of Manpower (Excluding the Legislation Administrated by the Departments of Labour and Mines). Pretoria, 1978, pp 6, 17.
 18. The opinion has been affirmed in both Soviet and foreign historiography that permanent residence in the city by a former rural resident for a span of 10-15 years is sufficient for his adaptation to the urban way of life. In accordance with the aforementioned law, the special rights to reside in the city were received, aside from hereditary urban residents and the members of their families, by Africans that had worked in an urban region without interruption for a span of 10 years at a single enterprise or for 15 years at different ones.
 19. J. Nattrass. Op. cit., p 14.
 20. G.M.F. Leistner, W.J. Breytenbach. *The Black Worker of South Africa*. Pretoria, 1975, pp 15-17.
 21. *South Africa's Urban Blacks: Problems and Challenges*. Pretoria, 1975, pp 15-17.
 22. G.M.F. Leistner, W.J. Breytenbach. Op. cit., p 90.
 23. *The Financial Mail*. 25 Mar 83.
 24. SRR, 1979, p 378.
 25. *The Financial Mail*. 16 Aug 85; SRR, 1977, p 419.
 26. A. Brooks, J. Brickhill. *Whirlwind before the Storm*. London, 1980, p 178.
 27. ANC Weekly News Briefing, 1983, No 25, p 1.
 28. SRR, 1982, p 294.
 29. A.S. Brooks, J. Brickhill. Op. cit., p 180.
 30. *Development and Change*. Vol 15, London, 1984, No 4, p 525.
 31. *The Apartheid Regime. Political Power and Racial Domination*. Berkley (Cal.), 1980, p 166.
 32. ANC Weekly News Briefing, 1982, No 24, p 17.
 33. *The Fate of Black-Skinned Women Under Apartheid in South Africa*. United Nations. New York, 1981, p 37.
 34. According to the census conducted at the beginning of the 1980s, 57 percent of the able-bodied population of the complex of villages in Kwangele were employed in the unofficial sector of the economy; the corresponding indicator for the "border" village of Kwamashu was 20 percent (*Development and Change*. Vol 15, 1984, p 520).
 35. ANC Weekly News Briefing, 1982, No 21, p 17.
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- Academic Centers in Ethiopia**
18070167f Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 160-165
- [Article by S.V. Balashov: "The Academic Centers of Ethiopia**"]
- [Text] One of the chief conditions for the successful completion of the transition to socialism, as noted in the program of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia (WPE), is the implementation of technical revolution.¹ Both the reinforcement of the material and technical base of existing scientific-research centers and the creation of new ones, the training of highly skilled personnel for them in

Ethiopia and abroad, the propagation of the achievements of science and technology, the organization of professional associations (unions) of academic workers and the creation of conditions stimulating scientific and technical creativity among the youth, among others, are envisaged for the purpose of developing scientific research and ensuring its link with the socio-economic tasks facing the country.²

Scientific-research institutions have been called upon to play an important role in realizing the scientific and technical policies of the party. The Ethiopian Science and Technology Commission, created in 1975, has among its missions developing basic guidelines for national scientific and technical policy in accordance with the plans for the socio-economic development of the country, rendering assistance and support to scientific-research institutes and individual scholars and developing collaboration with analogous foreign organizations, among others. The chief executive body of the commission is the National Science and Technology Council. There are currently seven scientific-research divisions within the commission: food and agriculture, education and labor resources, health care, natural resources, industry and technology, the popularization of science and technology, and general and residential construction.³ The commission has become appreciably more active in recent years at both the national and the international levels. A seminar was held in 1987 devoted to issues of propagating scientific and technical knowledge among specialists and broad segments of society. The commission, in conjunction with UNESCO, regularly organizes courses of scientific and technical information (including using computers).⁴ The commission is collaborating with the Canadian Center for the Study of International Development Problems, which is financing 22 projects in Ethiopia and allocating over 7 million birr for them.⁵ The commission has received considerable material assistance from the Swedish Agency for Scientific and Economic Collaboration with the Developing Countries, which assistance has been directed to the realization of about 50 projects in Ethiopia.⁶ The principal portion (about 80 percent) of the funds the commission receives are directed to various scientific-research programs at Addis Ababa University, including for the creation of skills-enhancement courses for degreed specialists and the organization of graduate studies.⁷ The agency held a conference in conjunction with the commission in November of 1986 in Addis Ababa that was devoted to the development of scientific research in Ethiopia.⁸

Considerable scientific-research potential is concentrated in the higher schools of the country, and first and foremost its universities. There are three universities operating in Ethiopia—Addis Ababa, Asmara and the Agricultural University in the city of Alemaya.

Addis Ababa University (AAU) was initially created as a college in 1950, and it obtained the status of a university in 1961. Today about 11,000 students study there in the

day division (the overall number of students, including the evening division and others, totals 18,500), while the professional-instruction staff numbers roughly 900 people, of whom 21 percent are foreigners.⁹ The department libraries of the university number some 512,100 volumes of books, journals, microfilm and audio-visual materials.¹⁰ The university has medical, technological and legal departments as well as the natural and social sciences and library studies, as well as a Language Studies Institute (including those of the peoples inhabiting Ethiopia), skills-enhancement courses for degreed specialists and graduate studies in a number of fields. These courses, created in 1978, have been completed by some 237 people, of whom 76 percent have remained at AAU as instructors and academic associates.¹¹ The composition of the university also includes agricultural colleges in Awasa and Debre-Zeyt, a pedagogical academy in Bahir-Dar and a college of medicine in Gondar.

During the 1983/84 academic year, the senate of AAU allotted 174,000 birr for the pursuit of 40 scientific-research operations at the university.¹² The academic associates and instructors are currently conducting research on some 90 projects connected principally with the problems of regions suffering from drought, as well as regions of new settlement.¹³ The department of scientific research and publications, which is also engaged in the preparation and publication of textbooks and reference materials, coordinates the academic activities of the instructors.¹⁴

The university leadership attaches great significance to raising the academic qualifications of the academic associates and instructors. Some 151 representatives of the university went abroad in 1983-84 to take part in the work of academic conferences, symposia and seminars as well as for short-term courses (roughly half of these trips were to African countries).¹⁵

Addis Ababa University publishes a series of journals in the corresponding fields. The journal "Dialogue. Journal of Addis Ababa University Main Campus Teachers Association," which publishes articles on issues of the economics of the developing countries, development strategy and political and pedagogical problems, among others, has been coming out since 1987. The Institute of Language Studies publishes the "Journal of the Institute of Language Studies," and in conjunction with the Italian Cultural Center in Addis Ababa, the journal "Pubblicazioni della Cattedra di Italiano-Universita' di Addis Abeba."

The staffers and instructors of AAU are taking part in the activity of the Organization for Social Science Research in East Africa, which publishes the journal "Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review."

Social-science research is accomplished principally at the Institute of Development Research (IDR) and the Institute of Ethiopian Studies (IES). The activity of the IDR has undergone considerable changes in recent years.¹⁶

There are three academic and scientific-research subdivisions currently operating here—a demographic studies and research center, a department for the study of issues of food and hunger and a department for the study of development problems.¹⁷ The IDR is training specialists in the realm of demography and regional planning. A second seminar was held in 1987 in Debre-Zeyt that was dedicated to improving the curriculum of regional planning and development.¹⁸ Curricula are being developed in conjunction with the University of Strathclyde (Scotland) in protecting and utilizing land and water resources.

The scientific works of the institute's staff members are published in the country and abroad.¹⁹ The IDR publishes the "Ethiopian Journal of Development Research."

The Institute of Ethiopian Studies was created in 1963 to pursue and coordinate academic work, chiefly in the history and culture of Ethiopia. Its annual budget totals about 250,000 birr. The director of the IES is Dr. Tadesse Beyene (a linguist by training). There are currently six permanent academic associates working at the institute (historians, sociologists and linguists) who are conducting instructional work at the same time. The IES more attracts instructors from various departments of the university—chiefly from the College of Social Sciences, the Law Department and the Institute of Language Studies—to perform concrete research.

The IES is collaborating most actively with the history department of the College of Social Sciences, in conjunction with which a dictionary of memorable dates and events of the country is being prepared for publication. It will also contain brief biographical information on outstanding historical figures of Ethiopia. It collaborates with the Institute of Language Studies in the realm of researching the languages of the smaller peoples populating Ethiopia. Alphabets are being created and reference grammars developed.

An ethnographic museum has been created at the IES with about 9,000 exhibits, among which are models of the traditional clothing of the Ethiopian peoples, agricultural implements, musical instruments, ornaments, crosses and pictures among other things.²⁰ An approximate doubling of the museum inventory is being proposed for the near future—chiefly through materials and exhibits on the life of the smaller peoples of the country.

The museum operates actively not just as a teaching center, but also as a scientific institution. Its staff members, along with those of the IES and instructors from the university, are conducting research in such areas as traditional art, the specific features of the life of the nomadic peoples and traditional methods of popular medicine. Some research by the staffers of the museum has now been published.²¹

The library of the IES numbers over 75,000 books. Over 800 ancient Ethiopian manuscripts are stored there (the earliest of which date from the 13th century) along with

periodicals. The tasks of the library include assembling all materials published in the world about Ethiopia, as well as all publications by Ethiopian scholars. A bibliography on issues of Ethiopian nationalities and a bibliography of books published in the languages of the peoples of Ethiopia beginning with 1776 are currently being prepared for publication. The library also exchanges books with a number of foreign academic centers and universities (and especially with London and Havana universities). Materials also come in from the Soviet Union. In 1983, for example, a gift was made to the library of microfilms of ancient Ethiopian manuscripts being preserved at the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences.²² A book on the first ten years of the Ethiopian Revolution that was prepared by the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences has also come to the library.²³ The library's inventory is also being supplemented through acquisitions of very old and rare books on Ethiopia, for which 20,000 birr are allocated annually.

The IES publishes the "Journal of Ethiopian Studies," a list of contemporary research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa ("Register of Current Research on Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa"), a bibliography of Ethiopian publications ("Ethiopia Publications") and an index of current periodicals in Ethiopia ("List of Current Periodical Publications in Ethiopia").

The sixth conference of the Association of Historians of the Countries of East Africa, organized by the history department of Addis Ababa University in conjunction with the IES and the Goethe Institute (West Germany), was held in 1984.²⁴ A nationwide symposium dedicated to issues of academic research in the realm of improving the teaching process at the institutions of higher learning of the country was held in Nazret in 1986.²⁵

Asmara University has departments in the natural sciences and social sciences and an Institute of Foreign Languages. Also operating here is the Institute for the Study of African Problems, the mission of which includes rendering assistance to academic workers engaged in studying the problems of the African continent.

The Agricultural University in the city of Alemaya devotes much attention to the self-sufficiency of the country in foodstuffs and further reinforcing agricultural cooperatives and state farms.²⁶ The university is planning to open six new scientific-research centers in various parts of the country to improve the technology of agricultural production.

Research of a socio-economic and socio-political nature is conducted at other academic centers besides the universities. They include, in the realm of language studies, first and foremost the Academy of Ethiopian Languages.²⁷ It is currently preparing for publication dictionaries of scientific terminology in Amharic.²⁸

The Institute of Archaeology, where a number of French scholars are working, is operating at the National

Museum of Ethiopia in Addis Ababa. The institute has divisions in Asmara and Aksum. The institute's staff numbers over 30 academic associates—specialists in archaeology, numismatics, ethnography, the restoration of architectural artifacts etc.

The Institute for the Study of Ethiopian Nationalities of the WPE Central Committee was created in 1983. The tasks of the institute including conducting research in such realms as the political, economic, social and cultural living conditions of the peoples inhabiting Ethiopia, their history, languages, geography of settlement, questions of administrative territorial divisions and others.²⁹ The institute took part with the IES in the work of the first international conference in London devoted to issues of the development of art in Ethiopia in November of 1986.³⁰

The Ethiopian Management Institute was created in 1985 for the purpose of raising the qualifications of national leadership personnel at all levels. It is directly subordinate to the Council of Ministers. The chief task of the institute is to analyze and solve practical problems in the realm of management that various state organizations encounter. The institute has two training centers, in Addis Ababa and Debre-Zeyt. Aside from the training of personnel, the staff members of the institute provide consultation to the government on issues of management, as well as conduct applied research in that realm. The institute staff numbers about 300 people, including 100 diplomatic specialists, and its annual budget is 3 million birr.³¹ The institute is assisted by the International Organization of Labor.

The Ethiopian Banking and Insurance Institute holds theoretical and practical seminars for the staff members of national banks and insurance companies.³²

The Ethiopian National Agency for UNESCO Affairs, created in 1969, makes a definite contribution to the development of academic research in the country. UNESCO has realized and continues to implement about 20 projects in Ethiopia with the assistance of this agency, including in the realm of eliminating illiteracy, developing education, science and technology, studying national languages etc.³³ Some of its academic work has been published.³⁴ The agency puts out the quarterly "Bulletin. Ethiopian National Agency for UNESCO."

The quarterly theoretical journal of the ideological department of the WPE Central Committee, "Meskerem. A Marxist-Leninist Theoretical Journal," as well as the Institute for Political Education imeni Yekatit 66, which regularly organizes conferences and debates on issues of the political development of the country, play an important role in the dissemination of Marxist-Leninist theory.

The headquarters of the UN Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity are located in Addis Ababa. The documents and materials

published by those organizations on both Africa-wide and Ethiopian problems find widespread practical application in the academic-research centers of the country.³⁵ The inventory of the UN ECA library numbers over 200,000 volumes of literature on various aspects of the economy of Africa.³⁶

A large volume of practical academic research is being accomplished by the sector institutes of Ethiopia. Especial significance is assigned to those of them that are engaged with academic developments in the realm of agriculture: the Institute of Agricultural Research, the Scientific Phytopathology Laboratory, built and equipped with the aid of the USSR, the Center for Vegetative Genetic Resources and the International Animal Husbandry Center for Africa.

Other sectors of the economy do not have as far-flung a network of research centers as agriculture. Some scientific work is being done here as well, however. In 1986, the country's Ministry of Industry, with the support of UNIDO and the United Nations PR, conducted the first national symposium on issues of industrial development.³⁷ A department of scientific research was created in the Ministry of Industry, and the organization of analogous subdivisions is also planned for a number of state corporations. In 1986 the Ministry of Industry signed an agreement to collaborate with Addis Ababa University for the purpose of coordinating their food programs with the scientific research being conducted in this realm by the university.³⁸ An Institute of Geological Research has been created whose tasks include large-scale geographical surveying, the search for and utilization of geothermal waters, the study of the seismic nature of the country's territory and prospecting for minerals. A number of scientific-research organizations are supporting the needs of health care.

Applied support functions are being performed by the Ethiopian Institute of Standards, the National Meteorological Services Agency and the Ethiopian Cartographical Agency among others.

Professional associations of specialists are playing no small role in the scientific research being conducted in Ethiopia. Their mission includes furthering scientific and technical progress in the appropriate areas, making a contribution to the realization of the country's socio-economic strategy and popularizing scientific and technical knowledge among broad segments of the population.

Soviet-Ethiopian scientific and technical collaboration, which is constructed on a systematic and long-term basis, is developing actively. The inter-governmental Treaty of Friendship and Collaboration concluded in 1978 has great significance. Two-year Soviet-Ethiopian treaties on scientific and cultural collaboration are regularly signed on the basis of that treaty. The sessions of the Inter-Governmental Soviet-Ethiopian Commission on Issues of Economics and Scientific and Technical

Collaboration and Trade have material significance. In the realm of the social disciplines, scientific collaboration is developing between the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Addis Ababa University: there are exchanges of publications and academic staff members, and joint works are published.³⁹ Soviet scholars publish books using materials collected at the academic centers and in the course of field research in Ethiopia.⁴⁰ Representatives of Ethiopian academic centers have taken part in Soviet-African academic and political conferences devoted to problems of peace, collaboration and social progress (Moscow, October 1981 and June 1986).⁴¹

The participation of Soviet and Ethiopian scholars in international congresses on Ethiopian research is making a material contribution to the development of academic ties between the USSR and Ethiopia. The 9th International Congress on Ethiopian Research was held in Moscow in 1986.⁴²

Academic collaboration between the Soviet Union and Ethiopia is also developing successfully in other directions as well. Scholars of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences have taken part in functions dedicated to the formation of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, the 100th anniversary of Addis Ababa and the 100th anniversary of the historic battle at Dogali (1987).

USSR aid to Ethiopia in the realm of science is also manifested in the fact that the Soviet Union trains (on an uncompensated basis) a considerable number of Ethiopian diplomatic specialists. More than 8,000 Ethiopians have received education so far, and over 3,000 are continuing their training in the USSR.

Footnotes

*—The article uses materials from the author's discussions with the leaders of a number of scientific-research centers in Ethiopia in 1984-87. The author thanks his Ethiopian colleagues for their courteous offer of information to him on the work of those centers.

1. The Workers' Party of Ethiopia. Programme. Addis Ababa, 1984, p 100.

2. Ibid., pp 101-102.

3. Yusuf Omer Abdi. The Role of Ethiopian Science and Technology Commission in the Development of Research and Development Capabilities in Ethiopia (mimeo). Addis Ababa, 1986.

4. The Ethiopian Herald. 5 Apr 84, 23 May 87.

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8. The Ethiopian Herald. 6 Nov 86.

9. Academic Vice-President's Report 1983-1984. Addis Ababa University, 1985, pp 3, 4, 30.

10. Ibid., p 67.

11. Ibid., p 26.

12. Ibid., p 71.

13. Recent Events and Activities. Addis Ababa University, 1986, No 10, p 1.

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15. Academic Vice-President's Report 1983-1984..., p 53.

16. For more detail on the work of the IDR before 1985 see the article of Ye.S. Sherr in NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1985, No 3, pp 110-113.

17. Institute of Development Research. Reorganization of the IDR and Research Activities. Addis Ababa University, February 1987, pp 2-3.

18. Work in the realm of regional planning is conducted by the IDR in conjunction with the University of Stuttgart (West Germany).

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24. The Ethiopian Herald. 22 Mar 84.
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36. 25 Years of Service to African Development and Integration. United Nations. ECA, 1984, p 19.
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38. The Ethiopian Herald. 9 Feb 86.
39. See, for example: All-Union Conference on Ethiopian Research (Moscow, 19-21 Jun 79. Topics of Papers). Moscow, 1979; Contemporary Problems and Foreign Policy of Ethiopia. Moscow, 1982.

40. E.A. Shauro. Socio-Political Awareness of Ethiopians (Using Materials from Field Research in Ethiopia in 1984). Moscow, 1987.

41. For Peace and Social Progress. Materials of the Soviet-African Scientific and Political Conference. Moscow, 13-16 Oct 81. Moscow, 1982; For Peace, Collaboration and Social Progress. Materials of the Second Soviet-African Conference. Moscow, 24-26 Jun 86. Moscow, 1988.

42. For more detail see: NARODY AZII I AFRIKI. 1987, No 2, pp 124-127; AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA. 1986, No 11, p 50.

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Glavnaya redaktsiya vostochnoy literatury, 1988

Book Review: Scientific-Technical Progress in Modern Japan

18070167g Moscow NARODY AZII I AFRIKI in Russian No 5, Sep-Oct 88 pp 185-189

[Review by V.B. Ramzes of book "Osnovnyye napravleniya nauchno-tehnicheskogo progressa v sovremennoy Yaponii" [Principal Directions of Scientific and Technical Progress in Contemporary Japan]. Moscow, Main Editorial Board for Oriental Literature of Nauka Publishing House, 1987, 184 pp]

[Text] *The idea of the necessity of the "formation of quality in the very production process itself" that is so persistently brought to life at Japanese enterprises or, in other words, the idea of uniformly strict monitoring of both finished products and their planning and immediate production, is deserving of attention.*

Japan deservedly enjoys a reputation as one of the most dynamic leaders in the accelerating and ever more intense scientific and technical race. The efforts made by this country in the research field and on the path of moving innovations out of the offices of scholars and out of laboratories into practice steadily provide positive results. Are there rational explanations for such a long string of success?

The materials of this monograph are convincing once again that a country like Japan, i.e. not possessing an abundance of minerals, an extensive economic expanse etc., will always be in acute need of scientific and technical discoveries. Nonetheless, that need alone is completely inadequate to accelerate scientific and technical progress in any palpable way. The outcome of the matter is ultimately resolved by such a prosaic factor as organization, and Japanese experience testifies to this with rare conviction. Today there is no reason to return to the origins for long—to speak extensively about mass technological imports, about some excessive reliance on applied and experimental-design developments to the

detriment of basic and theoretical ones, or some seemingly too-active incursion into science of the private-enterprise sector. The time has come to evaluate the results, and later prospects at the same time.

Relying on information reported by Yu.D. Denisov, one can assert without any vacillation whatsoever that over a period of time that is minuscule from a historical point of view and on an actually empty spot, a mighty scientific and technical base has appeared in the country whose basic parameters can confidently hold up to the strictest international comparisons.

Thus, according to the scale of spending on NIOKR [scientific-research and experimental-design work] (7.89 trillion yen in 1984-85) and by the number of those employed in that realm (676,300 people in 1982), Japan holds second place among the capitalist countries; in the overall pattern of these expenditures, a greater share of them went for basic research in 1984-85 (13.6 percent) than in the United States (12.6 percent); the "balance of patents" of Japan compared with all foreign countries in the aggregate, as well as a number of the leading ones, has come down to a positive one since the middle of the 1970s; at the end of the 1970s, Japan had advanced into second place in the capitalist world in the indicator reflecting the ratio of the total annual spending on their own NIOKR and licensing payments—a reduction in it demonstrates the force of an orientation toward the utilization of their own scientific and technical potential; etc. (pp 7-12).

The aggregation of some partial indicators of the state of NIOKR makes it possible to compile a clear depiction of at what high rates Japan is overcoming the lag behind the chief capitalist rivals in this key sphere.

Here is how, for example, the dynamic of the specially constructed coefficient "level of scientific and technical development" (the arithmetic average of patents brought into comparable form (1) for inventions obtained by national applicants, (2) the volume of foreign trade in licenses in cost terms, (3) the magnitude of exports of scientifically sophisticated products and (4) the added value created in the machining industry) looks: in the second half of the 1960s, this indicator was 1.0 for the United States, 0.36 for West Germany, 0.23 for France and England and 0.21 for Japan; in the second half of the 1970s, it was 1.0 for the United States, 0.47 for West Germany, 0.45 for Japan, 0.35 for France and 0.22 for England.

The dynamics of the coefficient "possibilities for further rise in the level of scientific and technical development" (arithmetic average (1) of the aforementioned coefficient, (2) arithmetic average of the volume of exports in licenses and number of patents, brought into relative form, that are obtained abroad, and (3) the average proportional expenditures for NIOKR in relative form and number of scientific workers) are just as striking. With the adoption of the American indicator at 1.0, it

becomes clear that in the second half of the 1960s, the West German level was 0.22, the French and English 0.16 each, and the Japanese 0.13, while in the second half of the 1970s the West German and Japanese were 0.31, French was 0.26 and the English, 0.16 (pp 16-17).

Such a truly outstanding jump was conditioned by the expansion of a broad front of research work with the participation of state establishments, higher educational institutions and firms, and moreover the collaboration among them, distribution of specific roles and coordination of daily activity did not rule out, but rather envisaged and encouraged, uncompromising rivalry for the greatest impact. This far from official alliance of the producers and consumers of innovations, free of strict direction, and the partial combination of the one and the other in one individual essentially removed the problem of the incorporation (this word itself conveys the hint of opposing forces!) of the fruits of scientific and technical progress as such, and moreover rapidly prepared the ground for the institution of material corrections in scientific and technical strategy.

The need for such corrections was dictated not by the fact that the current selective strategy, within the framework of which, in the words of Denisov, "a highly efficient concentration of resources in certain areas is created" (p 25), displayed a lack of correspondence to the current moment or a revealed concealed earlier. It is something else. Energetically utilizing selective approaches, Japan has moved closer in earnest to the concluding stages of a concentration of material resources and intellectual forces to arm itself with the strategy of all-encompassing development, i.e. for a synchronous and intensive offensive in all the latest directions of scientific and technical progress. The indirect but undoubtedly weighty proof of this symptomatic readiness, maturing day-to-day, is given in the book with the long-term forecasts of the evolution of science and technology in Japan, forecasts that naturally are not at all directive but nonetheless serve as reference points for state dedicated programs, supported by budget appropriations and expertly attracted "command" executors, and the programs of firms, developed and realized at their own fear and risk. The multitude of directions of research and development as recorded in these forecasts and programs are undoubtedly at the very cutting edge of scientific and technical revolution at the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st. Among them are information resources and new materials, energetic technology and biotechnology, the world's oceans and space, the automation of production and resource-conserving technologies.

I will indicate here just three of the multitude of examples that the author writes about with profound knowledge that depict in relief the highest levels that research has reached in Japan. A topic is thus developed associated with the creation of electronic instruments in "superstructures," i.e. based on the "organization and utilization of electronic processes on the scale of just a

few inter-atom distances" (p 55). The first steps are being taken in the realm of problems of bionics for the purpose of "bringing into development machinery, mechanisms and information-processing systems on a fundamentally new basis, linking the principles of living and inanimate matter" (p 61). Laser technology has assimilated "the introduction of genetic information into cells. With the aid of a laser beam, apertures are made on the surface of the cell through which DNA extract is next inserted" (pp 77-78).

Denisov has justly selected as the topic of especially careful analysis the scientific and technical shifts in the spheres of electronics and information-processing equipment, as well as machine-building production. It is namely the mobilization of the resources of that sphere that has a colossal multiplicative impact, gaining momentum along the chain of intersector ties in a sequential movement of the whole economy and the rate of rise in the quality of life of the population.

The dual—production and consumer—purpose of such resources is detected at each step, forcing one to conclude that it is programmed at the very earliest stages of scientific developments and that no less significance is assigned to it than, say, design and operating features. By way of example, a strict tracing of the course of ensuring the dual purpose of the computer is an indispensable condition for the computerization of Japanese society: compared to 1970, the inventory of general-purpose computers at industrial enterprises should increase by more than 30 times by 1990, and by 10 times in non-industrial sectors and in everyday life; the corresponding indicators for minicomputers presage forty- and twenty-fold growth (p 104).

The duality of purpose (simultaneously addressing enterprises, institutions and individual consumers) is seemingly built into the nationwide network of information transmission, the creation of which will be completed by the end of the century and which marks a restructuring of the "Japanese information infrastructure for its effective functioning under conditions where the generators of information are becoming complex technical systems, including superfast computers, while the consumers, whose numbers are growing ceaselessly, are oriented more and more broadly toward the utilization of information directly after its receipt" (p 109).

Finally, analogous demands are also being made of robots. Naturally at this stage, these devices, promising much, are concentrated in the realm of production, where they are taking on the execution of newer and newer basic (flexible automation of welding, painting, assembly) and auxiliary (loading and unloading of equipment, replacement of tooling, handling and storage of materials and parts) operations. But, as Denisov points out, the field of their activity is expanding rapidly: "The first prototypes are being designed of robots able to assist surgeons in performing operations, or therapists in diagnosing and performing various procedures. The robots

will evidently be able to perform post-operative care for the ill. Those robots that will assist people with damaged extremities, as well as those deprived of sight or hearing, are clearly in a special group" (p 142).

The expanding utilization of high technology has raised the role of the struggle for quality in product output to unprecedented heights. The human factor is having a strong influence on this issue. Since this issue is satisfactorily covered in Soviet literature, the author concentrates on uncovering the organizational and technical principles for ensuring product quality. The idea of the necessity of the "formation of quality in the very production process itself" that is so persistently brought to life at Japanese enterprises (p 135) or, in other words, the idea of uniformly strict monitoring of both finished products and their planning and immediate production, is deserving of attention.

The range of methods to avert the "digression of the work process outside allowable limits" (p 137) is unbelievably broad. Measuring inspection alone requires the establishment of a list of items being measured, the devising, exploitation and improvement of measuring technique, the revealing of ways to utilize their results, reading the measuring instruments, training of personnel etc.

The cult of measurements is an inevitable consequence of the "Draconian" conditions of contemporary production. Filters that encompass 99.9 percent of the particles in the air of 0.1 micron or more are actually used to clean the air in the production of superlarge integrated circuits in Japan, and although reaching absolute sterility is not envisaged, the task of maintaining the standards stipulating the allowable number of particles per unit of air volume is at the utmost limit, and it is resolved through constant and most precise measurements of the state of the production environment (pp 95-96). The status of the measuring inspection is emphasized, moreover, by the brisk demand for sensors—the "sensory organs" of modern production, as the author calls them: over the second half of the 1970s, the production of these "quality controllers" grew by over 1.5 times (p 138).

On popular means of observing the parameters set for the production process consists of steadfast attention to the "trifles" that are transformed into important attributes of high quality in a climate of progressive automation. One cannot fail to note in this regard the dogged work of scientific and technical thought on problems concerning, for example, removing waste from the cutting zone of machine tools with numerical control, their cleaning and clearing, the cutting mode and the like (pp 133-135). These and other components of the irreproachable quality of Japanese products described in the book are justly considered the crown of the efforts of an army of workers, thanks to whom the country has consolidated its position in the ranks of the world scientific and technical elite.

In evaluating Denisov's most positive image of success in studying the mechanics and motive forces of the progress of science and technology in Japan, I at the same time cannot fail to express a few reproaches toward him. The objectiveness of the observations, the sharpness of the statements, the balance and independence of the judgments—traits that predominate in the work—literally betray the author as soon as he begins a discussion of the social consequences of scientific and technical progress. Along with individual interesting and original considerations (about the ambivalent type of influence of new technology on employment, for example), the corresponding sections of the book have too many familiar clichés, unproved rhetoric, intentional vaguenesses and clear errors and contradictions. Here are some of them.

It is time to reject stereotypical and unsubstantiated statements of the type (p 114) that the restructuring of the production and professional structure in the creation of a "high-information society" will engender problems "all (emphasis here and following is mine—V.R.) of the weight of which lies on the working masses" (the statement on p 173 is less categorical: in the opinion of the author, only the "principal weight" of personnel retraining and the restructuring of employment patterns will lie on the workers), that the functioning of a computer system is reduced to "fulfilling the social order of the exploiting class" (p 124), that "some successes in science and technology, organization and management in the countries of the capitalist world... cannot give the workers confidence in tomorrow" (p 176) etc.

It is asserted on pages 162-163 that capitalist production is not oriented toward large-scale goals associated with restructuring professional qualifications, and the readers are treated to a negative evaluation of the retraining of Japanese workers, while on page 170, concerning the cultivation of "maximum professional universality" in

workers, the author evaluates training within the firm, including here the movement of personnel from certain jobs to others, in a directly opposite manner.

One can hardly share the viewpoint of Denisov in accordance with which automated technology "will hit first and foremost those who have no work yet, i.e. the youth" (p 5), that "unemployment among the youth is an especially acute social problem in Japan today" (p 167). Aside from the factual imprecision, these assertions are poorly coordinated with the correct remarks of the author on the necessity of knowledge "in the realm of information sciences and electronics" (p 5) for the "settling in" of automated technology and the high mobility of the youth. A significant portion of contemporary youth, after all, possesses such knowledge and is the desired source of replenishment for the workforce. The fate of workers from the "upper" age groups is way more difficult, although, as can be seen from the book, all is far from lost for them as well—thanks to the simplification of labor, design adjustments of equipment for the capabilities of this group of hired personnel and that same retraining (pp 160, 165, 171).

It is incorrect to speak of the poor observance of safety norms at Japanese enterprises, citing as proof the absolute number of accidents, the more so for just one year. To judge the situation with production injuries is permissible first and foremost through the dynamics of the ratio of the occurrences to the number of those employed, and that indicator has a long-term trend toward decline in Japan (the calculated indicators for "frequency" and "intensiveness" of production injuries are also exceedingly favorable for the country).

It remains only to express regret for so many vexing shortcomings in a book that is good overall.

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